

# The Classical Review

JUNE 1895.

## THE FICTITIOUS MSS. OF BOSIUS.

It is now fifty years since Mommsen discovered in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris a volume containing notes upon the last seven books of Cicero's *Letters to Atticus*,<sup>1</sup> in which he recognized a 'rough draft' of the commentary published in his edition of 1580 by Siméon Dubois, or Bosius as he is generally termed, a younger contemporary of Lambinus and a brilliant Latin scholar. He communicated the results of his collation to Haupt, who ten years later, in 1855, made the sensational announcement that the 'Decurtatus' or 'Seidae,' and the 'Crusellinus' of Bosius, two MSS. only known from his citations, had never existed except in his imagination.<sup>2</sup> He showed that very different readings from those assigned to them in the printed edition were attributed to them in the 'rough notes,' these divergences coinciding in a highly suspicious manner with a change in the conjecture made by Bosius. In one very striking case he showed that Bosius contradicts himself in the 'rough draft' by cancelling a note and rewriting it, attributing to the same MS. a new reading in support of a new conjecture. The consequences of this article were very important, since the two chief members of the *familia Gallicana* were now removed, and the remaining representative of this group, the 'Tornaesianus' or 'Turnesianus,' gravely discredited, since although it had been used by other scholars, and notably by Lambinus,

so that its existence could not be denied, its readings were largely known from the citations of Bosius, who could no longer be considered a credible witness. The general result therefore was to concentrate the attention of scholars upon the Medicean MS., as supplying the best, if not the only, evidence for the truth.

An ingenious reply was made to Haupt a few years later by Detlefsen in an article of singular learning and modesty.<sup>3</sup> He asked in the first place for some further proof that the book in question really contained the 'rough notes,' and hinted that it might represent the *curae secundae*, or subsequent corrections of Bosius. He showed that the printed edition abounds in errors and misprints,<sup>4</sup> that Bosius was careless in his quotations, that in the case of the *Tornaesianus*, the existence of which cannot be doubted, different readings are attributed to it by various scholars. Lambinus is particularly inconsistent, and a formidable list can be made of his discrepancies, some of which Detlefsen considers to be as serious as those for which Bosius has been charged with fraud. He therefore argues that we should acquit Bosius of anything

<sup>3</sup> *Fleckeisen's Jahrb.* Suppl. B. iii., 1857—1860, p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> In the printed book we find e.g. *Seidae* and *Dec.* quoted together for *memini enim tuum* xiii. 33, 4; in the MS., however, '*Seid. Turn. et Crusell.*' Also *Dec.* is quoted where it was said to have been deficient, e.g. xi. 7, 1, xv. 29, 2, xvi. 1, 1. The rough notes show that in all these cases *Dec.* has been erroneously substituted for *Crusell.*

<sup>1</sup> MSS. Lat. 8538, A.

<sup>2</sup> *Opuscula* ii. 84.

more than carelessness, unless we are prepared to put Lambinus in the dock beside him.

This temperate and clever defence was never replied to by Haupt, and although it has interested many critics it has failed to convince them. The question indeed was for many years looked on as closed. Of late, however, the criticism of the *Letters to Atticus* has entered upon a new phase, and the interest connected with the name of Bosius has deepened. This is largely due to the masterly pamphlet of Lehmann,<sup>1</sup> who has shattered the pretensions of the Medicean MS. to supremacy even among the Italian MSS., and has shown the great superiority of the Transalpine recension, as represented by the MS. used by Cratander, and the *Tornaesianus* of Lambinus and Bosius. He sagaciously remarks that in all probability the citations of Bosius from the latter MS. are to be trusted, since he would hardly have ventured to falsify its readings when so much was known of it from other sources.<sup>2</sup> The existence of the French family of MSS. has been further demonstrated by the discovery that the Library of Cluny in the twelfth century contained among its treasures a copy of the *Letters to Atticus*.<sup>3</sup> The well-known editor of the *Epp. ad Familiares*, L. Mendelssohn (Teubner 1893), has dwelt upon the great importance of this 'find,' and hinted at a possible connexion between the Cluny MS. and one of the *Bosiani codices*. He says, 'quippe e tenebris iam emergit familiae Gallicanae... testis et antiquus et ab omni suspitione liber, ut necessitas iam existat retractandae totius illius quaestionis, quae est de Tornaesiano Lambini deque Bosii et Decurtato... et Noviodunensi [i.e. Crusellino]. Fuisse Cluniacensem unum ex his codicibus si apparuerit, equidem non mirabor—nam Decurtatum et Noviodunensem ut cum M. Hauptio e Bosii capite ortos esse putem multum me impediunt, recteque oblocutus est Hauptio D. Detlefsen, sed surdis cecinit.'<sup>4</sup> The gravity of this statement as coming from so careful a scholar was pointed out by Mr. Purser in the pages of this Review [*Class. Review*, March, 1894].

I thought it worth while recently to re-examine the 'rough notes' of Bosius, comparing them with the printed edition, and the articles of Haupt and Detlefsen. I

<sup>1</sup> *De Ciceronis ad Atticum epistulis recensendis*, Weidmann, 1892.

<sup>2</sup> *ib.* p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> Manitius, *Philologisches aus allen Bibliothekskatalogen*, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Mendelssohn, p. viii. n. 1.

must state that I am a firm believer in the existence of the *familia Gallicana* and in the superiority of its tradition as represented by the *Tornaesianus*. I had also been greatly interested by the ingenious pleading of Detlefsen, and was not without hope that I might be able in some way to redeem the name of Bosius from the stigma cast upon it.

My hopes, however, were speedily shattered by an examination of the book in question, and I realized that the case had been in no way overstated by Haupt. Since, however, my personal conviction was of no importance, while in view of the doubts recently expressed some further details are called for, I have put together the following observations to serve as a supplement to the article of Haupt.

To take first two points raised by Detlefsen. That the Paris MS. contains the 'first draft' of the printed book is obvious at the first glance. The notes in it are hastily written, and in many cases somewhat illegible, though fortunately the readings attributed to MSS. and the emendations proposed are always in capitals, so that there can be no doubt concerning them. Sometimes a note is struck out and then rewritten, while additions are made in the margin which are incorporated in the note as it appears in the printed book. The following instance is an interesting one and throws light upon the working of Bosius' mind. On xi. 12, 1 he had made the statement 'in scidis vero recte NILO MEO,'<sup>5</sup> then afterwards, fol. 58, when commenting upon xiii. 51, 2 *narro tibi*, he has written in the middle of the page ILO MEO, and under this, NILO MEIO, UT NILO MEIO, obviously feeling his way to a fresh emendation. A great many of the long notes in the edition are word for word the same in the first draft, e.g. that on xiii. 11, 1 *οὐ ταύτῃν εἶδος*, where the only difference is that in the edition *Sunii* is inserted, Bosius having changed his emendation upon a previous passage. Frequently a note is slightly modified in the edition for the sake of literary effect, e.g. on xii. 35, 1 he says in the first draft

'restituimus ex scidis et Turnesiano has duas voces A TE quae deerant in codicibus impressis.'

In the edition this becomes,

<sup>5</sup> Haupt erroneously says, when speaking of this reading, that in the rough draft Bosius '*de decurtato tact.*' The only other error of Haupt which I have detected is that on x. 12, 2 he ascribes to the MS. the statement 'vett. codd. παραθετειν.' It should be ΠΑΡΑΘΕΤΕΙΝ.

'restitui ex scidis et Tornaesiano has duas voculas a te quae exsulant a vulgatis.'

The diminutive *voculas* is substituted for *voces*, and the more pictorial verb *exsulant* for *deerant*.

The second remark which I would make is that the parallel which Detlefsen tries to establish between the discrepancies to be found in Bosius and Lambinus respectively is quite illusory. Many of those found in Lambinus are obvious misprints, others are due to the fact that the words are of no importance to the quotation, and above all there is no *arrière pensée*. Lambinus records a corruption, but does not base any conjecture upon it. Thus in one of the three cases which Detlefsen considers most important, vii. 2, 3, Lambinus says in ed. i. [vol. i. p. 382 *Omissa*]. 'Turn. te exlibertum extarvacus,' in ed. ii. 'Turn. me exlibertum me extarvacus.' His note, however, is: 'plane mendose. Quis neget? sed scripturam antiquam proponere volui, ut ex ea eliciant eruditi rectam et veram lectionem.' Bosius, however, is only inconsistent in cases where he changes his emendation, or where he wishes to render it more plausible. In other words, his fraud is proved by the method of concomitant variation.

I now proceed to give further examples of the divergences between the MS. and the printed book. For the sake of convenience I term the former  $\beta$ , and the latter B. The references are to the edition of Wesenberg.

[L.] Cases in which Bosius subsequently changed his conjecture.

x. 8, 4. *quod maius scelus, aut tantum denique?*

[ $\beta$ ] 'Turn. QUOD MAIUS SCILICET TANTUM. In scidis QUOD MAIUS

ET SCILICET RATUM. Reposui, QUOD MAIUS SCILICET ERRATUM.'

[B] 'in omnibus meis... *quod malus scilicet tantum? coni. quod Mallius scilicet tantum?* i.e. was the offence of Mallius (= Manlius Capitolinus) so great?

*ib.* *†annival dehinc in absentis solus tuli scelus.*

[ $\beta$ ] 'Turn. AN NI VALDE HINC ABSENTIS SOLUS TULI SCELUS. In scidis, AN INVALIDE HINC ABSENTISS. SOLUS TULI SCELUS. Quis non vident illud ABSENTISS. compendioso scriptum esse pro ABSENTISSIMUS?'

[B] 'Dec. *An nī valde hinc absentis solus tuli scelus.* Inde suspicatus sum Ciceronem

scripsisse, *An invalide hinc arcentis solus tuli scelus?*'

The inexhaustible fertility of Bosius is shown by the fact that previously (*apud* Lambin. ed. ii) he had conjectured *absentissolus*, which he explains as = *φυγόπαρις*.

xi. 23, 2. *audimus enim t̄de staturi elodi.*

[ $\beta$ ] 'integram lectionem in uno tantum Dec. reperire potui' (in the margin he adds, 'qui liber longe ceteris antiquior ita multum eos et probitate et integritate scripturae antecellit'). 'AUDIMUS ENIM DETESTATU IRI EI O DII GENERUM NE' etc. He says *ei* = *Tulliae*.

[B] 'Torn. *Audimus enim destaturi Clodi generum ne* etc. Dec. *Audimus enim destaturi Elodi generum ne*. Legendum, *Audimus enim detestatu iri E. L. O Dii generum ne.* E. L. he says = *e lege*.

xii. 18, 1. *cuiusmodi est.*

[ $\beta$ ] 'recte in scidis QUI QUI MODI. Falluntur enim qui CUI CUI MODI scribendum putant.'

[B] 'Victorius *cuiusmodi*. Nos ex nostris, *cui cui modi.*'

xv. 1, 4. *filiis eius et filia tua* τὸ ἐκ τοῦτοῦ.

[ $\beta$ ] 'Turn. TUA TO EK TOY OY, quam lectionem etiam in Crusell. reperi.' In the margin he adds 'ταὐτὸ pro TUA TO legendum.' He explains by an ἀποσιώπησις, viz. *ταὐτὸ ἐκ τοῦ [αὐτοῦ στόματος ἐξέφθασα]*, the answer being οὐ.

[B] 'Crusell. UT TUA TO EK TOY TOY, emendavi, οὐ ταὐτὸ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, i.e. στόματος ἐκπνεῦσα [*sic*].'

xv. 2, 2. *nos videmur esse victuri.*

[ $\beta$ ] 'Turn. VICTORI, Crusell. VICTORE, credo Ciceronem scripsisse, VIETO ORE aut VIETI ORIS.'

[B] 'Omnes antiqui nostri *non videmur esse victori*: credo Ciceronem scripsisse, *non videmur cesse victori*, nam *cesse* pro *cessisse* veteres dicebant.'

xv. 18, 1. *in lacu navigarem.*

[ $\beta$ ] 'NAVIGITAREM... reperimus in Crusellino.'

[B] 'Torn. *et in lacuna vigilarem*, Crusell. *et in ea cura vigilarem*. Reposui, *et in ea cura vigilarem.*'

xv. 20, 1. *Quis enim haec, ut scribis, † anteno?*

[ $\beta$ ] 'partim ANTENO, partim ATENO in vett. codd. nos ATHENIO.' He refers to the 'princeps fugitivorum' in the Sicilian servile war.

[ $\beta$ ] 'Torn. *anteno*. Crusell. *enteno*, reposui, ἐν κενῷ.'

xv. 26, 1. *velle.*

[β] 'pro *vellem* castigavi ex eodem Crusell. *velle*.'

[B] 'scripsi *velim* eodem Crusell. auctore.'  
ib. 4. *octavam partem tuli luminarum medium ad strane*.

[β] 'Turn. OCTAVAM PARTEM TULI LUMINARUM MEDIUM ASTRA. Crusell. OCTOVAM PARTEM TULLI ILLUMINARINT AEDIUM ASTURA, castigavi, *octonam partem Tulli illuminarim aedium aθupa*.'

[B] 'Crusell. *octavam partem tuli luminarim in aedium astiva*. Vocem *astiva* mendosam puto, in ceteris nihil mutandum. Repono vero *aθupa* = τὰ ἀνὰ θυρίδων.'

xvi. 11, 8. *neque de Torquati negotiolo sciturum puto*.

[β] 'prave in editt. SCITURUM PUTO, nos ex Crusell. correximus, SI TUTUM PUTO.' He explains by an ellipse of *deero* [neque *deero*]. At the end of the MS. on the last page a new draft of this note appears,

'omnes vett. libri NE QUE et Crusell. pro SCITURUM OSCITURUM, saepe vitiose QUE scribitur pro Q. [i.e. Quintus Cicero]. Pro *neque* reposui NE Q., et OSCITATURUM. NE est particula adfirmandi; i.e. 'I think Quintus will neglect the matter.'

[B] 'recte Crusell. *negotiolo stiturum puto*.' Bosius finally ascribes to his MS. the conjecture of Malaspina.

xvi. 12. *bonum animum*.

[β] 'BONUM ENIM veteres omnes libri.' After erasing this, he again wrote BONUM ENIM, which he again struck out, and gave as follows. 'Turn. BONUM ENIM, Crusell. AN BONUM ENIM. Scripsimus, AMBO UNUM ENIM.'

[B] 'Torn. *bonum enim*, Crusell. *pono uni enim*. Puto Ciceronem scripsisse, *πονοῦμαι enim*.'

xvi. 14, 3. *Avi tui pronepos*.

[β] 'Crusell. QUINCTUS TUI VI PRO. NEPOS, emendavi, TUI AVI PRONEPOS.'

[B] 'Crusell. *Quinctus aut tui pronepos*, emendavi, *avi tui pronepos*.'

This last instance is perhaps the most striking of all. Bosius wished to appropriate *avi tui* the correction of Muretus [*Q. tui*, M. *qui tui*, ed. Iens.]. In β, however, he gives the words in a different order, the reading ascribed to Crusell. varying accordingly.

[II.] Cases in which a striking reading mentioned in β is dropped silently in B.

x. 10, 5. *vel lintriculo, si navis non erit*.

[β] 'Turn. et Crusell. LINTRI DICILO

[lutridiculo, Turn. teste Lambino], nos LINTRI ΔΙΚΩΛΩ, i.e. δικοῦλες.'

xi. 23, 3. *†vel in Metellae*.

[β] 'Turn. VEL IN METELLA [Metellae, Turn. teste Lambino], scidae, VEL IN ME SELLAE, lego VEL IMAE SELLAE.' This he fancifully explains of Dolabella's *traductio ad plebem*.

xiii. 40, 1. *†hic autem ut fultrum est*.

[β] 'recte legitur in scidis, UT FULTUI EST.'

xiv. 14, 1. *ioca tua...de haeresi Vestoriana et de Pherionum more Puteolano*.

[β] 'Dec. DE HARUSI VESTORINA, edidimus, de ἀρῶσι Vestorina. Iocum Attici in Vestorium refert qui Puteolis tamquam e puteo quodam pecuniam hauriebat, ut eam palam fenori collocaret.' For this extraordinary fancy he quotes Plato, *Leg. viii. p. 844 ὅπως μὴ δανείζωνται παρ' ἐτέρων, μηδ' ἐν' ἀλλοτρίᾳς πηγῶς βαδίζωσι*.

xv. 3, 1. *acta in aede Apollinis*.

[β] 'Turn. ACTA ME IN AEDE, Crusell. ACTA A ME IN AEDE, puto illud A notam esse, quae significat *absente*.'

[III.] Cases where readings not mentioned in β are ascribed to MSS. in B.

xiv. 20, 5. *haec †scripsi*.

B. 'post scripsi add. *citatin*, ut diserte in Crusell. exaratum reperi.'

xv. 2, 4. *de qua †causa laborat*.

B. 'Crus. *de quo causo laborat*, conieci, *καύσῳ laborat*.'

[IV.] Cases where the same conjecture is retained, but the readings ascribed to MSS. are modified. I give a selection only.

xii. 21, 2. *Si vero etiam a Faberio aliquid †recedit*.

[β] 'Dec. ETIAM SI ARARIO ADNOVITIUS ESSET.'

[B] 'Dec. *etiam si a vario ad novi tuis esset*, reposui, *etiam si aerario adnovitius esset*, i.e. 'a new clerk in the treasury.'

xii. 38, 4. *Kῆπος δ' ε'*.

[β] 'Turn. *Κύρσας*, Scidae, *ΚΥΡΟΣ ΑΕ*.'

[B] 'Torn. *ΚΥΡCAC*, Dec. *ΚΥΡΟCAC*, lego *Κῆπος δ' ε'*. He learnedly defends this brilliant emendation by a reference to Diogenes Laertius vi. 16.

xv. 20, 2. *quo causae cursus est*.

[β] 'Turn. QUA CAUSSA CURSUS EST, Crusell. QUA CAUSSA AC CURSUS EST.'

[B] 'Torn. *qua caussa cursus est*, Crusell. *qua caussa occursus est*, legendum, *qua caussa ac quorsus est*.'

xv. 24. *†hns*.



[β] 'Crusell. et Turn. H Hīs'

[B] 'Torn. HNIS, Crusell. H IIII, hoc est, hora quarta.'

xv. 26, 1. *inaudivi L. Pisonem.*

[β] 'INAUDIVI ex Crusell. reposuimus,

Turn. IN ADIBILI.'

[B] 'Crusell. *inaudibili Pis.*, conieci, *inaudivi L. Pisonem.*'

Bosius obviously got the idea of this beautiful correction from Torn., the reading of which he suppresses in B. All previous editors had kept the unintelligible reading *mandibili*.

*ib.* 4. *servitutis putat aliquid habituros.*

[β] 'Turn. APUD TALE, Crusell. APUT TALI.' He conjectures *a puteali*.

[B] 'Torn. *apud tale*, Crusell. *apud talis*.' xvi. 13 a, 2. *via mala*.

[β] 'Crusell. VIA MARA.' He conjectures *via ἀμάρα*.

[B] 'Torn. *via mata*, Crusell. *via amata*.'

[V.] In many cases he assigns to his MSS. readings conjectured by previous scholars, e.g.

xi. 9, 1. *constitueram*.

Manutius had here conjectured *quieveram*. Bosius says 'in quibusdam nostris *sciueram*, in Dec. *ciueram*, arbitratus sum fuisse *ciueram* pro *quieveram*... κατὰ συγκρίσιν pro *quieveram*.' He does not mention Manutius.

xii. 1, 2. *id est ii Kal.*

[β, B] 'Manutium optimum hic fuisse coniectorem probat haec lectio Dec. ii Kal.'

xv. 19, 1. *ἡρώδες sed ἀνερών.*

[B] 'Crusell. ANICTON, unde iudicavi certam esse coniecturam H. Stephani... ἀνιστόν.' This does not appear in β.

xvi. 4, 4. *Etesiis utemur*.

[β] 'Crusell. ETESIIS, Turn. ET TES-TIS.'

[B] 'MSS. nostri *et estis*, unde recte Lambinus reposuit *Etesiis*.'

These instances might be greatly multiplied.<sup>1</sup> In many cases also he ascribes to one of his MSS. good readings previously only known from Torn., e.g.

xiii. 52, 1. *vultum non mutavit*.

So Lambinus from Torn. Bosius says 'addidi vocem *vultum* ex fide Tornaes. et Crusell.'

In the following case he combines the reading of Torn. with the correction of Lambinus—

xv. 26, 4. *M. Aelium cura liberabis, is me paucos specus.*

Lambinus says 'cod. Turn. *cura liberabis*.'

<sup>1</sup> Lehmann, p. 105.

*me paucos specus*, unde sic legendum puto, *cura liberabis. is me paucos specus.*' Bosius remarks, 'nos veram lectionem a Crusell. expressimus, *M. Aelium cura liberabis: is me paucos specus.*'

There is another point of view from which it is possible to test the statements of Bosius concerning his MSS., viz. by inquiring how far the remarks of Lambinus are consistent with the declaration of Bosius that he based his readings upon manuscript sources. It is important to remember that Lambinus and Bosius were close friends. Lambinus speaks of him in more flattering terms than of any other contemporary scholar, constantly calling him *vir eruditissimus, ingeniosissimus*, and terming his conjectures 'divine.' These references first appear in the *curae secundae*, or notes to the posthumous edition of 1577. As nothing is said of Bosius in the first edition of 1565, these communications must have been made between that date and 1572, the year in which Lambinus died. According to the statement of Bosius in the Preface to his edition of 1580, he had obtained his *Decurtatus* fifteen years before, i.e. in 1565. He would therefore have been in possession of it when he communicated to Lambinus the readings published in the *curae secundae* of the latter. These communications appear to have been chiefly made by word of mouth—cf. Lambinus on Lucr. v. 1004, 'quod idem ille Bosius...cum esset domi meae indicavit'<sup>2</sup>—though some may have been made by letter, cf. Bosius on *Att.* x. 13, 7 'numquam enim id ei dixi, aut scripsi.' It must be acknowledged that in one passage Lambinus does speak of a MS. belonging to Bosius, *Att.* vii. 18, 1—'Simeo Bosius dicebat mihi se reperisse in suo item MS. eoque antiquissimo, *quae quidem si repudiavit, repudierit*, unde coniecit, *repudio erit*.' Detlefsen not unnaturally supposes that the *Decurtatus* is the MS. here referred to and finds in the allusion an argument for the *bona fides* of Bosius. On the other side I would point out—

(1) That this reading is not attributed to the *Decurtatus* in B, but quietly dropped.

(2) That elsewhere Lambinus always terms the readings of Bosius conjectures.

(3) That Bosius frequently represents conjectures which he had mentioned to Lambinus to have been made before his *Decurtatus* came into his hands, e.g. on iv. 16, 12 he says 'olim putavi legendum esse *e rhopopolidis pictoribus*, auctorque fui Lam-

<sup>2</sup> This note first appears in the third edition, Paris, 1670.

bino ut ita corrigeret, verum postea nactus codicem *Decurtatum*... nunc edidi e *Sopolidis pictoribus*. The first communication of Bosius is, however, the only one mentioned in the posthumous edition of Lambinus.

(4) The conjectures ascribed to Bosius by Lambinus are frequently quite inconsistent with the readings which the former in his edition ascribes to his *Decurtatus*, e.g. on x. 12, 7 Lambinus says 'Simeo Bosius volebat legi ἀγγίμολον, id est, propinquum.' Bosius in his edition says 'Torn. et Crus. AKI AAAOAOON, in Scidis ΔAXIAAOOAN, emendavi διδαχῇ ἀλωτόν.' The first emendation is obviously founded upon the reading of *Torn.* and inconsistent with that ascribed to the *Decurtatus*.

(5) No readings of Bosius are recorded by Lambinus after Book x. This would be natural, if Bosius had not proceeded further in his *Castigationes*, but would be hardly explicable, if he had possessed a MS.

(6) That, considering the intimacy which existed between them, Bosius could hardly have refused to show his *Decurtatus* to Lambinus, especially in view of the fact that the latter had allowed him to see his *Tornaesianus*.

In view of these considerations it is suspicious to find that Bosius in his edition, writing after the death of Lambinus, professes to found upon MSS. readings of his which Lambinus simply termed conjectures, e.g. i. 1, 2 'sed nec Simeonis Bosii conjectura silentio praetereunda est... quae tum erit absoluta sane facile. eum libens Θέρμων ciceri cusili accuderim.'<sup>1</sup> Bosius says, however, 'ut ratio emendationis constet, subiciam veterum librorum scripturam, ex qua concinnata est haec nostra. Scidae et Crusell. habent, eum libenter mun ciceri Consul acciderint: Torn. eum libenter munciteri Consili acciderunt.'

The argument against Bosius may be stated in the form of a dilemma. If he was possessed of his *Decurtatus* during the lifetime of Lambinus, why did he conceal the fact from his friend? If, however, he was not, why does he claim to have had it as far back as 1565, and how is it that the readings ascribed to it agree so suspiciously with the sometimes very extravagant conjectures which he made shortly after that date? The conclusion can hardly fail to be unfavourable to the hypothesis of his veracity.

The conviction at which I have myself

<sup>1</sup> This conjecture is also mentioned in the second edition of Lambinus' Horace [Paris, 1567], on *Sat.* i. 6, 115.

arrived is that Bosius never had any MS. of importance before him except the *Tornaesianus*. It was nearly always the reading or the corruption found in this from which he started, though in the printed book he is frequently at pains to disguise his obligation.

Thus on xii. 4, 2 *si a sententiis eius dictis*, he says in the printed book, 'vulg. *sententiis*, recte vero *Dec. seriis*.' In  $\beta$  he is fuller, adding 'sed et in Turnes. *SENTIS* exaratum est, quod propius abest a *SERIIS* quam a *SENTENTIIS*' thus supplying the missing link between the ordinary reading and his conjecture.

The question as to how far Bosius can be trusted in his quotations from the *Tornaesianus* is of great importance on account of the unique value of that MS. I here entirely agree with Lehmann in thinking that he reported these truthfully, since on the one hand falsehood would have been soon detected and on the other the motive was wanting, since, although he probably started from the *Tornaesianus*, it is always to *Dec.* or *Crusell.* that he ascribes readings which so suspiciously resemble his conjectures. Also the discrepancies in his account of the readings of this MS. are few and unimportant. A very interesting note in the margin of  $\beta$  shows that the *Tornaesianus* was in the possession of Bosius, and that he referred to it to verify his statements concerning it.

xv. 4, 1. *X Kal. hora VIII.*

He remarks in  $\beta$ , 'restituimus ex Turn. cod. notam H ante illud VIII, qua nota significatur Hora.' In the margin comes the significant entry *Vide in exemplari Turnesiano an ita sit.* In B the note takes a different form, 'explicite scripsi, ut erat in Crusell. *hora VIII* [a misprint for *VIII*] *fere*, in aliis δὲ σημεῖον... *H. VIII fere*.'

A similar entry is on xv. 26, 1.

[ $\beta$ ] 'Turn. et Crusell. *QUEM ADMODUM ACCIPIANTUR II LUDI DEINDE OMNIA RELIQUORUM LUDORUM IN DIES SINGULOS PERSEQUARE*.' He adds in the margin *vide*.

In B this reading is silently dropped. The explanation probably is to be found in the fact that this reading is assigned to '*Lambinus et v.c.*' in the margin of the posthumous edition. Bosius naturally took *v.c.* to mean *Tornaesianus*, and according to his custom added the support of his trusty *Crusellinus*. Then on reference to *Torn.* finding that he was mistaken he dropped the reading. In so far then as it goes to

show that Bosius was careful to give the true readings of *Torn.*, I hope that the results of this discussion may not be wholly negative.

I would conclude with a suggestion concerning the *provenance* of the *Tornaesianus* or *Turnesianus*, which I have not seen elsewhere discussed. The latter name is given to it by Lambinus, and by Bosius in his rough notes; in his edition he employs the former. It occurred to me that the adjective was in all probability formed from JOHANNES TORNAESIUS, or Jean de Tournes, the printer of Lyons who published for Lambinus the first edition of his Horace. This conjecture is confirmed by the fact that in his Preface to Horace Lambinus speaks of

a *liber Tornaesianus* which he obtained from this source: 'liber item calamo scriptus vetustissimus a Io. Tornaesio typographo Lugdunensi nuper insperanti Lugduni oblatus est.' The reference is probably to Jean II, as he is termed, the son of the founder of the house. He was a scholar as well as a printer, and edited Petronius. He was a strong Calvinist and, when compelled in 1585 to leave France on account of his religious opinions, emigrated to Geneva, where he re-opened his business.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Bulletin du bibliophile*, Sept. 1856, p. 917. Since this was sent to press, Mr. Purser has pointed out that the connexion of the name of the MS. with de Tournes was suggested by Lehmann.

#### GREEK LAW AND FOLK LORE.

BETWEEN the laws made by Solon about funerals and the laws made by the Boeotians and the provisions of the XII. Tables at Rome on the same subject the resemblance is so great that Plutarch and Cicero thought that the laws of their own countries were borrowed from those of Solon. The funeral law of Iulis in Ceos, of which we have a stone record (Roehl, *Inscr. Antiquiss.* No. 395), is on the same grounds considered by MM. Dareste, Haussoullier and Reinach (*Inscriptions Juridiques Grecques* i. 11) to have been inspired by Solon's legislation.

All these laws are commonly counted as sumptuary laws; but, if they were, they signally failed of their purpose, for the pomp of a Roman funeral was considerable, and in Greece 'the death of a man, with his funeral and monument, often cost more than many years of his life' (Boeckh, *P.E.* 114). But the sumptuary idea, though undoubtedly true to some extent, requires some stretching to make it fit all the facts: the only expense saved by the prohibition of loud wailing, for instance, was an expenditure of breath; and though the fixing of the burial-hour for the time just before sun-rise might conceivably deter extravagant display, still the Athenian who took his seat at the theatre before day-break would probably be prepared to rise betimes in order to see a really good funeral. And there is a point at which the sumptuary idea avowedly breaks down. The law of Iulis forbids (1) the placing of a cup under

the bed of the dead man, (2) the pouring out of the water, (3) the carrying of the sweepings to the tomb, *μὲ ὑποτιθέναι κύλικα ὑπὸ τῇ κλίνῃ, μεδὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκχέν, μεδὲ τὰ καλλίσματα φέρεν ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα*, on which the comment of M. Dareste and his colleagues is 'Interdiction de certains usages superstitieux. Nous ne connaissons pas le sens de ces usages.' Superstitious these usages are, and it is to the superstitious mind that we must appeal for their sense.

The practice of 'pouring out the water' was combated in later times by the Christian Church, as appears from the *Sammlung der Decrete* of Burchard of Worms (†1024), quoting, e decreto Eutychiani papae (†283), cap. 9, the following 'interrogation': fecisti illas vanitates aut consensisti, quas stultae mulieres facere solent, dum cadaver mortui hominis adhuc in domo jacet, currunt ad aquam et adducunt tacite vas cum aqua, et cum sublevatur corpus mortui, eandem aquam fundunt subtus feretrum. This quotation brings the actual process before our eyes, but does not give the sense of the practice. For its explanation we must ask the German peasant. Wuttke, in his *Deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart* (1869), gives us two modern instances of this ancient superstition: when the corpse is removed from the house water must be poured out thrice from a (green) jug, else the dead man will return (§ 737); and the water in which the corpse has been washed is to be poured out behind the bier, then the dead man, if he does return, cannot

cross over it and so is prevented from getting into the house (732).

The other two prohibitions of the Iulis law have also their exact counterparts in German folk-lore; and are quite intelligible if we remember that, according to the primitive and superstitious view, the soul when it leaves the dead man's lips is a little light and feeble thing which flits and flutters about and settles here and there, and if the window is open will fly out. Hence the German belief (725) that it is apt to lodge in any open vessel, from which we may infer that the *κύλιξ* was set to catch the soul. Why the soul should be caught appears from the superstition about the sweepings: the soul may fall to the ground, and the German peasant consequently sweeps out the room as soon as the corpse is removed from it (737). In Rome the room was swept out by the *everriatores*. The Cean swept the room out and carried the sweepings to the tomb. Evidently, the cup and the sweepings were both emptied into the grave, to make sure that the soul remained there and not in the house.

These three superstitious usages then, which are unintelligible to French savants, would be readily understood by the German peasant. And there are other provisions in the law of Iulis, about which the peasant can give us information. The lawgiver ordains that the corpse on the bier is not to be entirely covered by the grave-clothes (*μὲ καλύπτει τὰ δ' ὀλοσχευὰ τοῖς ἱματίοις*). The German peasant will tell you that, if the corpse is only partially covered, the deceased will become a *revenant* of the worst type, viz. a *Nachzehrer*, one who not only 'walks' but carries off the living to his grave (732). From this it seems probable that the Ceans covered their corpses entirely, in the belief that otherwise the deceased would walk, but that the Cean lawgiver for some reason did not encourage this belief. The Ceans also would have liked to leave the bed and all the clothes of the deceased in the tomb with him and to break the pottery used in the funeral libations and leave the potsherds there too, but the lawgiver forbade it (*τὰ δὲ ἀγγεῖα ἀποφέρεισθαι.....τὴν κλίνην ἀπὸ τοῦ σήματος καὶ τὰ στρώματα ἐσφέρειν ἐνδόσε*). In Germany too the straw on which the deceased has lain is to be taken to the churchyard and left at the church door, in order that the dead man may not come back to look for it (739); his pottery is to be broken, for the same reason (729); the dead man does not like other people to wear his clothes (742), and

generally he may come back for anything of his own that he wants and has not got (745); so it is intelligible that the Ceans should have wished to bury with him everything that was his and so leave him no excuse for returning. But what of the lawgiver? why was he so anxious to keep the soul in the house in the first instance; and, if that failed, then at any rate to offer the soul no inducement to remain in the tomb?

A possible answer to these questions is suggested by two provisions in the Cean law, each of which has its counterpart in Solon's funeral legislation. The first is that which, both at Athens and Ceos, forbids any woman (at Athens any woman under sixty years of age) to enter the room from which the deceased has just been removed unless she is the daughter of a cousin of the deceased or is related still more nearly to him (*μηδ' εἰς τὰ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος εἰσεύναι ὅταν ἐξενηχθῇ ὁ νέκυσ γυναῖκα μηδεμίαν πλὴν ὅσαι ἐντός ἀνεψιῶν εἰσὶν*, Dem. c. *Maecr.* § 62, *μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ ἀδελφεὰς καὶ θυγατέρας ἀνεψιῶν*, Cean law), in fine only the *ἀγχιστεῖς* were admitted, that is to say, only those who were qualified to take part in the worship of the deceased's spirit and to inherit *ab intestato*. The other provision of the Cean law is *τὰς γυναῖκας τὰς ἰούσας ἐπὶ τὸ κῆδος ἀπέναι προτέρας τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ σήματος*, and the object aimed at by this provision was, as I shall try to show, the same as that of Solon's law which ordered that in going to the tomb the men should walk before the bier and the women after it.

Bearing in mind the superstitious conception of the soul as a light, fluttering thing, we can understand certain German superstitions and apply them to the Greek funeral law. These superstitions are that, when the procession starts, the soul rides on the top of the bier or hearse; and consequently any person, riding or driving, who passes the bier is sure to carry the soul back with him to the village; while if, in the absence of any such *rencontre*, the soul reaches the grave along with the body, then the bearer who is the first to start home carries the soul back (and must say certain things to get rid of it, Wuttke 746). The effect therefore of the Cean lawgiver's legislation would be that the women, starting back first from the tomb, would convey the soul home; while the result of Solon's enactment would be that if, on the way to the tomb, the soul got dislodged from the bier, it would probably alight on



one of the women behind. On returning to the place in which the deceased had died and from which the Cean legislator was at so much pains to prevent the soul's being ejected, it was again the women *ἀγχιστεῖς*, both in Ceos and Athens, who alone were admitted.

The immediate object then of these regulations may have been to ensure the contact of the soul with the women *ἀγχιστεῖς*, and the purpose of that contact was not liable to be frustrated by the presence of stranger-women of sixty, i.e. past the age of child-bearing. In other words, the purpose was to secure the re-birth of the soul of the deceased in his own family. 'Algonkin women who wished to become mothers flocked to the side of a dying person in the hope of receiving and being impregnated by the passing soul' (Frazer, *Golden Bough* i. 239). The Greeks also believed that a soul could be re-born in this way, as is indirectly proved by the existence of the words *δευτερόποτος* and *δευτερόποτος* and their interpretation by Hesychius, *ὅστις τινὶ ὡς τεθνήσκει τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐγένετο καὶ ὕστερον ἀνεφάνη ζῶν* ... ἡ δὲ δεύτερον διὰ γυναικείου κόλπου διαδύς ὡς ἔθος ἦν παρὰ Ἀθηναίους ἐκ δευτέρου γεννᾶσθαι. A man, being abroad, is reported home as dead. His friends perform the usual funeral rites, and then he comes back saying that he never has been dead. This statement may or may not be true. If untrue, then he is what the Germans call a *Nachzehrer*, and the Slavs a vampire, i.e. a dead man who assumes the guise of life in order to carry off his surviving relatives to the grave. Once to admit him to the house was to give him a right of way and he could come again and again until he had carried off all the living inmates of the house. The best thing therefore was to treat the returned traveller as being really the soul of the deceased. Now apparently there was only one way in Athens in which a soul could return to the family, and that was by being re-born into it. The *δευτερόποτος* therefore went through a symbolical re-birth, and having been thus re-admitted as a legitimate member of the family was bound to behave as such and not as a vampire (for the Roman way out of the difficulty, see Plutarch's *Roman Questions* 5).

I would suggest therefore that the regulations about the *ἀγχιστεῖς* were not reforms or innovations introduced by or borrowed from Solon but were ancient customs legalized, and that the other provisions of the Cean law were not directed so much against extravagance as against

practices which tended to frustrate the purpose of the ancient customs.

Whether the *ἀγχιστεῖς* regulations were or were not inspired by the motive suggested above, the forbidden usages are remarkable. It is interesting to find that they were forbidden by the legislator of Iulis just as they were forbidden by the decreto papae Eutychiani. It is not strange that they were forbidden either by a legislator who believed in ancestor-worship, or in a country where the spirit of the deceased house-father was regarded as the good spirit of the family and where in early times his body, by a common Aryan custom, was buried actually in the house (Plato *Minos* 315 D) in order to secure the continual presence of his beneficent spirit. But it is strange that in such a country and amid such beliefs, usages should have grown up, the only purpose and effect of which can have been to drive away his spirit. And, being strange, it invites speculation. But first it may be well, as everything turns on this, to show that a belief in something like vampires did as a matter of fact exist in ancient Greece.

I might begin by giving instances of the widespread belief in vampires in modern Greek folk-lore, or by quoting the two ancient instances given by Rohde (*Psyche* p. 651), viz. the tale of Philinnion and Machates (which is hardly a vampire story) in Phlegon *Mir.* 1, and the Clytemnestra of the *Eumenides*; but this is an article on Greek law, and therefore I will begin by the Athenian law referred to by Aeschines (*contra Ctes.* 244) in the words, *ἐάν τις αὐτὸν διαχρήσθῃται, τὴν χεῖρα τὴν τοῦτο πράξαντος χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος θάπτουεν*. This treatment of the body of a suicide at once reminds us of the English law, only abolished in 1832, which ordained that a stake should be driven through the body of a *felo de se*, and the body buried at cross-roads. Now according to the modern vampire-superstition (which can be traced back in England to the time of Mapes, twelfth century, and in Germany to A.D. 299, Wuttke § 766), suicides, murderers and those who have met with violent and unnatural deaths become vampires. Naturally therefore precautions are taken to prevent the vampire from 'walking.' One common custom is to heap stones on his grave, to keep him down, every passer-by being expected to contribute a stone (for instances see Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, p. 275, who gives examples from various European countries, from Arabia, Senegambia and South Africa). Whether



Plato believed in vampires or not, at any rate in the *Laws*, 873 B, he orders stones to be heaped on the corpses of those who commit unnatural murders and who according to the superstition would become vampires: αἱ δὲ ἀρχαὶ πᾶσαι ὑπὲρ ὅλης τῆς πόλεως λίθον ἕκαστος φέρων ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ νεκροῦ βάλλων ἀφοσιούτω τὴν πόλιν ὅλην. Possibly Plato thought it wiser to make a moralizing concession to the superstition than to forbid it in vain. The stake driven by the English law through the suicide was probably, like the stones, to keep him in his grave. Another precaution was to cut off his head (this is done in Mapes' story) or his hand, so that if he did walk he could not do much harm, or at any rate could be recognized for what he was. But the most effectual precaution was to burn the body (Wuttke § 765).

This last precaution may perhaps give us the explanation of the forbidden funeral practices of Ceos. In an age when cremation prevails, the only possible *revenants* are those who by some accident have not been cremated, and therefore wander about (αἰσχρὸς ἀλῶμαι, says Clytemnestra) on this side Styx. But the ritual prescribed for *δευτερόποτοι* would be, if properly performed, sufficient protection against them. Suppose however that inhumation begins to succeed cremation, then the conservative members of society, the women in this case, will be full of the dangers which the new system involves; many stories of *Nachzehrer* and vampires will be related; the insufficiency of mere inhumation will be dilated on; and women, 'these practical creatures,' will discuss the best measures for keeping out ghosts, and will act on them. Hence the cup, the water and the sweepings of the Cean law—which is directed especially against women, as indeed it is to women that the interrogatio of Eutychianus is addressed.

Be this as it may, Plato's legislation on the bodies of potential vampires contains two points of interest: the civil law of England ordered the body of a suicide to be buried at cross-ways, Plato orders the body of a fratricide to be cast *eis tetragμένην τριόδον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως* (873 B). Canon law refuses the rites of Christian burial to suicides, in a decree which occurs in Gratian (II. c. 12, can. xxiii., qu. v.) and can be traced to a Greek father (see Blastaris, *Syntagma* B. xii., quoting Timotheus Alexandrinus, τῆς εἰσθείας ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰσεβῶν προσφορὰς καὶ εὐχῆς καὶ ψαλμωδίας καὶ τῆς νομιζομένης ὁσίας στέρεσθαι ἀξιοί), and I am

told by a distinguished canonist that 'where *ecclesiastica sepultura* was forbidden that always I believe meant exclusion from the consecrated ground.' Plato's legislation on suicides is (873 D), τάφους δ' εἶναι τοῖς οὕτω φθαρέυσι πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ μόναν μηδὲ μεθ' ἐνὸς ξυντάφον, εἴτα.....θάπτειν ἀκλειεῖς αὐτοὺς, μήτε στηλαῖς μήτε ὀνόμασι δηλοῦντας τοὺς τάφους.

In a previous paragraph I spoke of vampires acquiring a 'right of way.' The expression was used advisedly, to indicate the attitude of the superstitious mind to forms of law: in the middle ages vampires were formally prosecuted for trespass, noxious vermin and insects were served with legal notices of ejectment (the *Geoponica* recommends a similar process), and amongst the Scandinavians by the laws of Haco, the foster-son of Athelstane, the killing of a beaver involved the payment of a fine for bloodwite, as the killing of a man the payment of wer-geld, for the beaver had a domicile and rights as an inhabitant, though 'bear and wolf shall be outlaws in every place' (Palgrave's *English Commonwealth* II. cxli.). And this brings us to τὰς τῶν ἀψύχων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῶων δίκας ('*Αθ. πολ.* c. 57) of Attic law. The language of Plato (873 E) and the fact that inanimate objects were formally tried in the court of the Prytaneum by the kings and the tribe-kings, makes it probable that the animal accused of murder actually appeared in court as the prisoner in the dock; and this is rather confirmed by the early Teutonic laws which decree that the wer-geld for a man killed by a domestic animal shall be paid half by the owner and half by the guilty animal itself, 'ipsum vero quadrupedem qui est auctor criminis pro medietate compositionis restituat' (dominus pecudis), Leg. Sal. xxxviii., cf. Leges Alaman. xlviii. 22, 'si canis alienus hominem occiderit, medium Wer geldum solvat.' Possibly the well-known trial-scene in the *Wasps* was not an absolutely novel idea of Aristophanes.

The trial of inanimate objects, τῶν ἀψύχων τῶν ἐμπεσόντων καὶ ἀποκτεινάντων (Poll. viii. 120, cf. Dem. c. *Aristocr.* 76, ἐὰν λίθος ἢ ξύλον ἢ σίδηρος ἦ τι τοιοῦτον ἐμπεσὼν πατάξῃ), obviously dates from an animistic stage of belief, and may be compared with the practice (not unknown in ancient Greece) of whipping the idol which fails to satisfy its worshipper. The inanimate object, if found guilty by the court, was banished from Attica: in England, by the law of deadand, abolished in 1846, it was forfeited to the crown.

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THE USE OF *περιπέτεια* IN ARISTOTLE'S *POETICS*.

THE object of this note is not to urge any original view about the meaning of *περιπέτεια*, but to emphasize and reinforce the view which was propounded by Vahlen and accepted by Susemihl, but which has not yet taken real hold upon English editors of the *Poetics* or commentators upon the Greek dramatists.

It is not too much to say that the ordinary English view identifies *περιπέτεια* with the main change of fortune in the action of a drama, or, at the best, distinguishes but slightly between the two. Thus, Winstanley translates it 'Ingens rerum conversio, quae vulgo catastrophe'; Cope (note on *Rhet.* i. 2) 'a tragic catastrophe'; Professor Jebb (*Soph. O.T.* p. xxvi.) and Professor Butcher (p. 37) 'a reversal of fortune'; Professor Campbell (*Greek Tragedy*, p. 143) 'a turn of fortune'; Twining 'A Revolution'; Mr. Prickard 'Evolution' (perhaps by misprint for 'Revolution'); Egger 'une révolution des événements'; Ueberweg 'Schicksal-wendung.' At the same time some of these commentators attempt to distinguish it from the *μετάβασις*. Thus Twining defines it, 'a sudden and unexpected reverse of fortune' or again 'a sudden change to the reverse of what is expected by the spectator from the circumstances of the action': and Pye, with whom Professor Butcher (p. 307) almost verbally agrees, 'a sudden and violent revolution of fortune brought about by means apparently likely to produce a contrary effect.' It is something to have a distinction drawn and these distinctions are partly in the right direction, and yet they are far from exact; for the word carries no necessary implication of suddenness or violence, it has no reference to the expectation of the spectators, and it needs to be sharply distinguished from the reversal of fortune.

The view propounded by Vahlen is to be found in his *Beiträge* ii. p. 6 and p. 68. It is that *περιπέτεια* is simply any event in which any agent's intention is overruled to produce an effect which is the direct opposite of that intention. It belongs to the class of actions half-voluntary, half-involuntary, discussed in the *Ethics* (III. i.), in which the action is deliberate, but the result is not intended, but is produced contrary to the agent's intention, owing to his ignorance of the exact circumstances of the case. *ἐν τοῦτοις ἔλεος καὶ συγγνώμη· ὁ γὰρ τούτων τι*

*ἀγνοῶν ἀκούσιος πράττει*. The act may be that of the hero of the drama, or of any subsidiary character: it may or may not produce a change of fortune; it may, with equal probability, produce a change to happiness or unhappiness; it may take place suddenly or gradually: but the change of fortune is not connoted by the word and is always a subsequent result which can be separated in thought and generally in time from it. It is not so much 'a specific kind of change of fortune' (cf. Butcher, p. 307) as one means by which a change of fortune is brought about.

Three considerations may be urged in support of this view:—

(a) In the *Poetics* 1452a 16—1452b 14, it is classed with *ἀγανόρπις* and *πάθος* as one of the three means which bring about the change of fortune. It can no more be identified with the change than either of the other two means may. Even with Twining's attempt to give it a separate connotation, it is illogical to say that a change of fortune is brought out by a sudden and unexpected change of fortune. What Aristotle really says is that sometimes a change of fortune results through a man's own actions, these being overruled by circumstances to produce a result quite different from what he intended. This is quite clear in the first instance which he quotes from *Soph. O.T.* 1002 *sqq.* The messenger comes with the intention of giving joy (ὡς εὐφρανῶν), but the result is that he gives unhappiness; his intention is overruled and his act produces anxiety and perplexity in the mind of Oedipus and ultimately leads to the change of his fortunes, but it is quite different from that change, which occurs later in the play after other clues have been followed out. It was probably equally clear in the story of Danaus, also quoted by Aristotle. Apparently the action of Danaus himself in arresting Lynceus led to the deliverance of Lynceus and his own doom. Another instance of the use of the word is to be found in a late writer who seems to have been influenced by Aristotle's literary criticism, the Venetian Scholiast on Homer: in *Il.* ii. 155 *sqq.* Agamemnon is anxious to stir the Greeks to make an attack upon Troy; he tests their courage by proposing that they should give up the war and sail home; they take him at his word and prepare for flight

and are only stopped by the action of Odysseus under the influence of Hera. Now in this case no reversal of fortune occurs; all that happens is that a diplomatic move on the part of Agamemnon is almost overruled to produce the exact opposite of his intention, and the Venetian Scholiast applies to this the word *περιπέτεια*: his comment on Homer's treatment of the scene being, εἰς τοσοῦτον προάγει τὰς περιπετείας ὥς μὴ δύνασθαι αὐτὰς ἄλλον εἰ μὴ μόνον μεταθεῖναι τὸ θεῖον (quoted in Vahlen's critical apparatus on 1454b 2). A few more instances will make the matter clearer. In the *Merchant of Venice*, Shylock insists on the exact letter of his bond that he may cause the death of Antonio, but the result of that insistence is the forfeiture of his own life: that is a *περιπέτεια*. In the story of Adrastus, as related by Herodotus and followed by W. Morris in 'The Son of Croesus,' Croesus sends Adrastus to take charge of his son and keep him from all danger, but it is the hand of Adrastus that throws the dart which kills his son: that is a *περιπέτεια*, and in this case the reversal of fortune is identical in time with it. In the book of Esther Haman goes to the king's palace to speak unto the king to hang Mordecai; but the result is that he goes away arraying Mordecai and causing him to ride through the street of the city and proclaiming 'Thus shall it be done unto the man whom the king delighteth to honour.' This is a *περιπέτεια*, but the reversal of his fortune follows at some time afterwards and is only indirectly due to this. Again, in the book of Genesis, Joseph's brothers sell Joseph that they may be quit of him and his dreams; but the result is that the dreams are fulfilled and he saves their lives—'God sent me before you to preserve you a remnant in the earth and to save you alive by a great deliverance: so now it was not you that sent me here but God'; but the change in Joseph's fortunes had already taken place: 'he hath made me a father to Pharaoh and lord of all his house and ruler over all the land of Egypt.' Lastly it will be sufficient to hint at the greatest of all *περιπέτεια* in the world's history, when the crucifixion which was intended to destroy the impostor of Nazareth and save the Jewish race resulted in the lifting up of the Son of Man and the ruin of Judaism (cf. esp. S. John xi. 47—53, Acts iv. 10, 25—28).

(b) This view is confirmed by the fact that Aristotle apparently contemplates that there

may be more than one *περιπέτεια* in the same play, cf. 1452a 32 καλλίστη δὲ ἀναγνώρισις, ὅταν ἅμα περιπέτειαί γίνωνται, οἷον ἔχει ἡ ἐν τῷ Οἰδίποδι. This may, perhaps, press the use of the plural unduly, but, as a matter of fact, there are two in the *Oedipus Tyrannus*. The first is to be found in 709 sqq. where Jocasta quotes the failure of the previous oracle given to Laius in order to make Oedipus distrust the oracle given to himself; but the result is that both oracles are thereby proved to be true. The second is the case quoted by Aristotle and already discussed. In one case Jocasta's intention is overruled, in the other that of the Corinthian messenger; but the reversal of fortune is a reversal primarily of the fortunes of neither of these two, but of Oedipus,<sup>1</sup> and is subsequent in time to each *περιπέτεια*.

(c) It is extremely interesting to note the bearing of this interpretation on the main conception of Greek Tragedy. Mr. Abbott (*Hellenica*, p. 62) rightly repudiates the statement that the tragedy of the Greeks is no more than a tragedy of destiny, and adds that Aristotle has no allusion to destiny in his *Poetics*. This is not exactly true; certainly the Greek tragedy is not primarily fatalistic, it leaves room for the hero's free will. Yet here in *περιπέτεια*, i.e. in one of the three events which lead to a change of fortunes, we are in the presence of something above the man's free will, something akin to destiny. Such *περιπέτεια* are classed by Aristotle among *θauμαστά* (*Rhet.* i. ii.); they do show man that he is not always master of his fate, that he is in the presence of powers which may entirely overrule his intention, not merely thwarting it but converting it into the very opposite. In a word *περιπέτεια* is to actions what irony is to language. In the latter case, words are caught up by circumstances and charged with a fuller meaning than the speaker meant; in the former, deeds are equally caught up out of his grasp and charged with a meaning the very opposite of that which the agent meant. These words from the treatise falsely attributed to Plutarch, *περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς ποιήσεως Ὀμήρου* ii. c. 120, will exactly illustrate the point: ἡγείται μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸς, ὥσπερ καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν οἱ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν φιλοσόφων, Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Θεόφραστος, οὐ πάντα καθ' ἐπαρμένην παραγίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἶναι,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Soph. *König Oedipus* ed. G. Kern. Gotha 1884. '716 Peripetie—Erste Punkt; 1021, Peripetie—Zweiter Punkt.'

ὡν ὑπάρχει μὲν τὸ ἐκούσιον, τούτῳ δὲ πως συνάπτεται τὸ κατηναγκασμένον, ὅταν τις πράξας ὁ βούλεται εἰς ὃ μὴ βούλεται ἐμπέσῃ.

There is one passage in the *Poetics* where this technical use of *περιπέτεια* is probably not used. In 1454b 29 the recognition of Odysseus by his nurse (*Od.* xix. 396 *sqq.*) is described as ἐκ περιπετείας in opposition to πίστewς ἔνεκα. Professor Butcher translates it here 'that which results from a turn of fortune'; but this can scarcely be right. The recognition does not result from any turn of fortune: that turn in the fortunes of Odysseus has not taken place, Odysseus being still a beggar. Possibly, Vahlen's interpretation is admissible here, though neither he nor Susemihl apply it to this passage; the reference might be to *Od.* xix. 389-391, where Odysseus deliberately tries to hide the scar but his intention is frus-

trated by the nurse. It would thus mean, 'in spite of the person's own efforts,' and this makes an excellent antithesis to πίστewς ἔνεκα. Yet perhaps the simpler explanation is that the word is here used in a loose popular sense as equivalent to 'an accident.' This usage is common by the time of Polybius, with whom *περιπέτεια* means little more than 'an accident' or 'a disaster,' and ἐκ περιπετείας = 'accidentally.' Such a degradation of meaning would be very natural; as the conception of *Εἰμαρμένη* gives way before that of Τύχη in Euripides and in Menander, it is natural that *περιπέτεια* should sink from an event in which destiny and the Gods overrule a man's free will for ends not his own into the mere conception of capricious accident.

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#### NOTES ON SOME PASSAGES (pp. 55-64) IN LIGHTFOOT'S *BIBLICAL ESSAYS*.

It is a somewhat ungracious task to criticize Lightfoot's *Essays* on St. John's Gospel in the face of the editor's own statement (p. vii.) that 'they would probably never have been published by Dr. Lightfoot himself,' and that, owing to the peculiar difficulties presented by the MS. (p. viii.), 'it is inevitable...that in places the Bishop's meaning will have been obscurely expressed, if not entirely missed.' But, so far as I have seen, critics have not recognized the full force of these confessions. They have placed on the same level the Johannine and the Pauline portions of the *Biblical Essays*. By such a want of discrimination the cause of truth suffers for the moment, and the authority of our most scholarly theologian may suffer hereafter. I propose therefore to call attention to some errors in the second of these *Essays* for the purpose of confirming the editorial statement that 'they would probably never have been published by Dr. Lightfoot himself.'

In setting forth the proofs of the apostolic origin of the Fourth Gospel, Lightfoot lays stress on the evidence of Irenaeus as being (*B. E.* p. 55) 'a pupil of St. John's personal disciple Polycarp,' whose teaching Irenaeus describes in the well-known letter to Florinus (*Eus. H. E.* v. 20); and, after quoting this letter, he adds (*B. E.* p. 55) 'It will suffice to notice (1) the opportunities of the witness, (2) the

thoroughness of the evidence (πάντα σύμφωνα ταῖς γραφαῖς). In more than one passage also of his great work he refers to the "Church of Ephesus," or to the elders who associated with John in Asia.'

But before laying stress on 'the opportunities of the witness,' and 'the thoroughness of the evidence,' is it not natural to ask, concerning the witness himself, whether he is to be trusted as to his own 'opportunities'? Is he so free from bias and exaggeration that we can feel satisfied as to his warrant for Polycarp's complete conformity to 'the Scriptures,' and for Polycarp's descriptions of 'his intercourse with John and with the rest of those who had seen the Lord'?

There are great differences of opinion as to Irenaeus' age when he heard Polycarp: but the tenor of his account justifies the conclusion that he was a mere boy, more impressed by Polycarp's personal appearance, gestures, and circumstances of teaching, than by the teaching itself.<sup>1</sup> It would seem

<sup>1</sup> He accounts for his vivid recollection of Polycarp's teaching by saying that (*Eus. H. E.* v. 20) αἱ ἐκ παιδῶν μαθήσεις grow with the soul and become identified with it. This adverbial phrase indicates the early days of boyhood, say about twelve: and it seems safer to suppose that Irenaeus is here using the words in their ordinary sense than that he is referring to his own very arbitrary classification into five ages (I. ii. 22, 4; ii. 24, 4), where he deserts the old classification of seven ages (adopted by Philo



almost certain that Irenaeus never conversed with Polycarp or received any private instruction from him. Otherwise, could he have failed to mention it to Florinus? In the letter to Florinus, it is the latter who is 'in company with' Polycarp;<sup>1</sup> Irenaeus is a mere boy who occasionally heard Polycarp's discourses to the multitude (πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος), and 'by God's mercy'<sup>2</sup> listened to them with attention. It would not be thought allowable in these days to call one who had merely attended a great preacher's discourses 'a pupil' of the preacher: and even if we let the word pass, we ought never to use it without adding 'but not pupil in the ordinary sense.'<sup>3</sup> But it may be urged that the confidence in his own judgment implied by the decisive and deliberate verdict 'altogether in accordance with the Scriptures' shows that Irenaeus must either have been older than twelve when he heard Polycarp, or must have said much more than he was justified in saying when he wrote to Florinus. The latter alternative is, as I shall try to show, the more probable. This very letter to Florinus suggests exaggeration. He appeals to epistles of Polycarp 'which he wrote either to the neighbouring Churches for their confirmation, or to certain of the brethren for their warning and exhortation'; yet in his later *Refutation of Heresies* (iii. 3, 4) he merely mentions one epistle: 'And there is also an epistle of Polycarp written to the Philippians, of great weight, from which those who desire to do so and who take thought for their salvation may learn the i. 26, from Hippocrates) and substitutes one that seemed to harmonize with a favourite belief of his—that Christ lived to the age of nearly fifty. The age of twelve seems not an unlikely one for a παῖς in the early period of boyhood (comp. Lk. ii. 43, viii. 51, 54).

Note that in the *Refutation* (iii. 3, 4) Irenaeus does not claim to have been a pupil of Polycarp, or to have learned from him, but merely to have 'seen' him. This accords with his habitual distinction between those who had 'seen,' and those who had 'heard,' or 'learned from,' the Apostles. In the *Refutation*, when he quotes Polycarp, it is from the reports of others (iii. 3, 4): 'There are those (prob. Pothinus) who have heard from him (i.e. Polycarp) how John, &c.'

<sup>1</sup> 'For I saw thee, when I was still a boy, in Lower Asia in company with (παρά) Polycarp.'

<sup>2</sup> The phrase seems intended to mean that a boy so young (but for God's special 'mercy') could hardly be expected to take in the discourses.

<sup>3</sup> We do not know the birth-place of Irenaeus. It is quite possible that his stay at Smyrna may have been brief. It is generally assumed (without authority stated) that he was born in Asia Minor; but Eusebius contains no proof of this. Possibly he was born in Syria and stayed at Smyrna for a time while his father was moving to Gaul.

type of his faith and the preaching of the truth.' Now in a fairly accurate writer we might explain the two passages by saying that in the later, writing to the public, he appeals to that particular epistle of Polycarp which had become more prominent than the rest, but in the earlier, writing to one who had known Polycarp, he appeals to Polycarp's Epistles generally. But if he is generally inaccurate, the more probable conclusion would be that in writing to Florinus about Polycarp's numerous epistles he is appealing to documents that he has not himself seen and merely conjectures to be existent. We must remember that Eusebius himself assumes Irenaeus to have exaggerated the closeness of the relationship between Papias and John the Apostle. Irenaeus had called Papias 'a hearer of John'; Eusebius shows from Papias' own words that he certainly did not claim to have heard him and probably had never heard him. And the mere fact that Eusebius assumes Irenaeus to have no other evidence to prove the 'hearing' indicates his unfavourable opinion of the latter's accuracy.<sup>4</sup> Such an opinion is certainly confirmed by some of Irenaeus' errors in his *Refutation*. Arguing there against heretics whom he accused of perverting the Scriptures, he must have been more than usually careful to avoid error himself. But he makes most flagrant mistakes, especially under the influence of a wish to prove a theory. For example, when he is attacking the believers in the Ogdoad for wresting Scriptures so as to favour their theories about the number eight, or for ignoring those Scriptures which do not contain it, he himself—actuated by the desire to show that the number 'five' is extensively used in Scripture—asserts (ii. 24, 4) that the Lord and His companions made up 'five' persons who entered the

<sup>4</sup> An unfavourable opinion also seems implied in Eusebius' (*H. E.* v. 8) summary of Irenaeus' testimonies as to miracles and scriptures. It begins with a *δῆλον* ('according to his account'), introducing a statement about the raising up of many dead saints; it ends with his statement that Ezra was inspired to reunite the Law and the Prophets; it gives at full length his testimonies to the Apocalypse (against which Eusebius has a strong feeling); and there is not a word of praise of his knowledge, accuracy, or insight. He simply says—and he could not well say less—that he has promised to set down the sayings of the ancient ecclesiastical elders and historians, and 'since Irenaeus, too, was of their number, come, let us set down his sayings.' It is hardly fanciful to discern a tract of disparagement in so grudging a statement, especially when compared with the praise he freely bestows on other writers. The only praise he gives Irenaeus indicates (*H. E.* v. 20, 3) admiration for his carefulness as a scribe.



chamber of the daughter of Jairus; and, to prove this, he actually omits the name of John and asserts that Jesus 'suffered no man to go in save Peter and James and the father and the mother of the maiden' (see Lk. viii. 51). Then—apparently following, but with a difference, Justin Martyr, who had (*Tryph.* 91) recognized four 'horns' in the cross—he speaks of (*ib.*) 'five' extremities (fines et summities) of the cross; he says that the 'whole man (totus homo)' may be divided into 'head, breast, belly, thighs, feet' (conveniently ignoring the arms and hands!); and lastly adds (*ib.*) 'the human race passes through five ages; at first the infant, then the boy, then the little one (parvulus), and after these the mature man, and then at last the old man.'<sup>1</sup> All these instances occur in one chapter of the second book of the *Refutation*. In the same book he tells us that (ii. 33, 2) Plato was the first to introduce the theory of metempsychosis, and (ii. 35, 3) he confidently gives explanations of the names of God (Eloëim, Eloëuth, Adonai, Sabaoth, Jaoth) which induce most of his editors to dissent, and one to declare that 'some sciolist appears to have here imposed upon our author.' Elsewhere (iv. 20, 12) he represents Rahab the harlot as receiving 'three' spies (instead of 'two') and then adds 'doubtless (a type of) the Father and the Son with the Holy Spirit'; and after quoting M. xi. 27 'No man knoweth, &c.,' and mentioning that Lk. resembles it, he proceeds (iv. 6, 1) '*Mark has the very same*, for John omits this passage'; whereas Mk. omits it also! He also represents Jairus as 'high-priest' (v. 13, 1 *summi sacerdotis*) instead of 'ruler of the synagogue,' and in the same section he introduces facts connected with the raising up of Jairus' daughter in the raising up of the widow's son. A long extract exceeding a chapter is quoted (v. 35, 1) from the apocryphal Baruch as from 'Jeremiah the prophet.' Another passage, not found in the Scriptures, he quotes once (iii. 20, 4) as from Isaiah but elsewhere (iv. 22, 1) as from Jeremiah.

Again, where he quotes an 'elder,' he never mentions by name Pothinus or Polycarp, or any one except Papias. He seems to take a pleasure in hiding names under some tedious periphrasis. Even in such traditions as he mentions there is no trace of any such first-hand information as Irenaeus might be supposed to have received

<sup>1</sup> 'Parvulus' and 'puer' seem to have been transposed; or could 'parvulus' be an erroneous rendering of *μειράκιον* ('stripling')?

(Eus. *H. E.* v. 20) 'about the Lord and about His miracles, and about His teaching' which Polycarp claimed to have received from 'eye-witnesses of the life of the Word.' Sum up what he himself professes to have heard from the 'elders,' and what does it amount to? Roughly to this; (1) that Polycarp used to (*H. E.* v. 20) stop his ears against heretical doctrine and to say, 'O good God, for what times hast thou kept me that I should endure such things'; (2) that John (iii. 3, 4) left the baths on finding that Cerinthus was there, for fear the roof should fall in; (3) that Polycarp (*ib.*) called Marcion 'the first-born of Satan'; (4) that (ii. 22, 4-6) Christ lived till the age of nearly fifty;<sup>2</sup> (5) that the vision of the Apocalypse was seen (v. 30, 3) at the close of the reign of Domitian almost in the 'generation'<sup>3</sup> of Irenaeus; (6) that the number of the Beast was (v. 30, 1) 666 and not 616; (7) that the Lord used to predict (v. 33, 3-4) a time when there should be vines each with 10,000 branches, each branch with 10,000 twigs, each twig with 10,000 shoots, and so on, each grape giving 25 measures of wine; and that every grain of wheat would produce ten pounds of fine flour; and that 'Papias the hearer of John and companion of Polycarp' attested all this in writing; and that when Judas Iscariot refused to believe the prediction the Lord replied 'they who shall come to these (times) shall see'; (8) that (v. 36, 1, 2) there are three grades of blessedness for the departed, viz. 'heaven,' 'paradise,' and 'the city (of the new Jerusalem),' and that these are indicated by the hundred-fold, sixty-fold, and thirty-fold of the Parable of the Sower, as also by the Lord's saying 'In my Father's realm' are many 'mansions.'"

<sup>2</sup> See below.

<sup>3</sup> This is a good specimen of I.'s loose generalities. Those who treat his statements seriously, argue that a 'generation' may mean thirty (or even occasionally forty) years, so that the phrase might apply to anything happening thirty (or forty) years before a man's birth. But of course a man's 'generation' may be prospective as well as retrospective, so that it might apply to anything happening thirty (or forty) years after a man's birth. It follows that the phrase covers a period of sixty (or eighty) years! If only he could have condescended to say 'thirty-five years (or whatever the number might be) before I was born'!

<sup>4</sup> *ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς μου*, whereas Jn. xiv. 2 has *ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ π. μου*. The two quotations differ both in this and in the sense of *μαρὰ*. Jn. apparently means that 'in the palace of the Father there are many chambers or abiding-places,' without any notion of transference from one to another. But the tradition quoted by Irenaeus uses *μὴν* in the sense of 'halting-place' or 'station (on a journey)' (as in Pausanias x. 31, 7): 'in my Father's realm there are

Add to these (9) some attacks on heretical impostures, as being like 'glass imitations of jewels,' or like 'gypsum mixed with milk,' &c., with a statement that the heretic Marcus is 'equipped by his father Satan,' and that 'a soul heated with empty air is audacious and shameless,' utterances proceeding from one whom Irenaeus calls (Pref. and i. 13, 3) ὁ κρείσσων ἡμῶν or (iii. 17, 4) superior nobis, or (i. 15, 6) 'the divine old man (πρεσβύτερος) and herald of the truth'; and (10) some comments on O. T. and on the relations between the two dispensations (iii. 23, 3, and *passim* in book iv.):—and surely the conclusion must be that either Irenaeus had no opportunities for hearing anything of spiritual value not already contained in the Gospels, or else that, if he heard anything, he was too young to understand and appreciate it.

The most probable as well as most satisfactory conclusion is that when Irenaeus describes an elder as a 'disciple of the Apostles' he is exaggerating. Pothinus, for example, who (Eus. *H. E.* v. 1) is said to have died after the age of ninety, may have been (Lightf. *S. R.* p. 265) 'a boy of ten at least when the Apostle St. John died': he had perhaps seen the Apostle and heard him discourse (as Irenaeus had seen and heard Polycarp), but he could not fairly be called 'a disciple of the Apostle.' But he and others of the elders might have received traditions from those who had seen the Apostles and had been taught by them. Consequently, such a one might be called (iv. 27, 1) 'an Elder who had heard from those who had seen the apostles and from those who had learned (from them)':<sup>1</sup> but

many stations on the road that leads to His presence.' This difference should have been clearly stated. For in fact the Elders and the Gospel appear to be not quoting either from the other, but to be independently and differently interpreting a common tradition.

Lightfoot, on p. 60, translates 'In my Father's abode,' but on p. 67 he refers back to it as 'In my Father's house.'

<sup>1</sup> The commencement of Lightf.'s remark about this elder is printed thus (*B. E.* p. 59): 'An "Elder of a bygone generation" (*de antiquis presbyter*), a "primitive character" (iv. 31, 1), an "elder and disciple of the Apostles" (iv. 32, 1), or, as he is elsewhere more precisely described, "an elder who had heard from those who had seen the Apostles and from those who had learnt" [ab his qui didicerunt, i.e. from personal disciples of the Lord (iv. 27, 1)].'

It was hardly fair to Lightfoot's memory to print this. The first words are printed thus in the Leipsic (1878) annotated edition of the Irenaeus fragments: 'talia quaedam enarrans de antiquis presbyter reciebat nos,' indicating that the editors rendered 'de antiquis' about the old (dispensation). They notice no alternative rendering, and no alternative is possible in the context: and the bishop's two

afterwards the same elder is called (iv. 32, 1) 'an elder and disciple of the Apostles. This seems to illustrate Irenaeus' error about Papias. Papias had really not 'heard' from John, but he had 'heard' from those who had 'heard' from John; and both brevity and bias induced Irenaeus to substitute the latter statement for the former.

Lightfoot's translation of Irenaeus' statement about Christ's age is thus printed (*B. E.* p. 57): "From thirty to forty," he argues, "a man is reckoned young,"<sup>2</sup> but from his fortieth and fiftieth year he is already declining into older age, which was the case with our Lord when he taught, as the Gospel and all the Elders who associated with John the disciple of the Lord testify that John delivered his (*sic*) account. For he remained with them (περιέμεινεν (*sic*) αὐτοῖς) till the times of Trajan. Some of them saw not only John but other disciples also, and heard these very things from their own life (*sic*) ab ipsis, and bear testimony to such an account (*de huius modi relatione*). There are at least two misprints here, περιέμεινεν for παρέμεινεν and 'life' for 'lips.'<sup>3</sup> Also 'disciples' is an erroneous translation of 'Apostolos'—a noteworthy word because this is one of the very few passages of early writers that approximate to calling John an 'apostle' (instead of, as usual, a 'disciple'). Further, the Latin is 'a quadragesimo

renderings ('an Elder of a bygone generation' and 'a primitive character') indicate that he himself was doubtful about the passage, which he would certainly have corrected on revision. Again, the three references should manifestly have been printed in their order, and then it would have appeared how naturally the short incorrect form supplanted the longer correct one. Also 'didicerunt' is a misprint for 'didicerant.' Lastly, to translate 'ab his qui didicerant' 'from personal disciples of the Lord' is inadmissible. It has been so translated (see note in ed. above quoted); but such a translation is contrary to the usage of Irenaeus and should have been at least justified by examples, or mentioned as doubtful. (The brackets apparently indicate that this addition is made by those who edited Lightfoot's MS.) Far more probable than such a rendering would be the hypothesis that 'ab his' had dropped out ('ab his qui [ab his] didicerant') as being a repetition: but the Latin may very well represent παρά τῶν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἐπαρκῶν καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτῶν ἀκούσαντων. The distinction between those who had 'seen' the Apostles (as Irenaeus had 'seen' Polycarp) and those who had 'heard' i.e. received instruction from them, is a very natural one.

<sup>2</sup> The words 'from thirty...young' could hardly have been intended by Lightf. to be printed as a quotation, the original being 'Quia autem triginta annorum aetas prima indolis est juvenis, et extenditur usque ad quadragimum annum, omnis quilibet confitetur': and would Lightf., on revision, have accepted 'young' as a rendering of 'juvenis'?

<sup>3</sup> Probably, too, Lightf. wrote 'this account,' not 'his account' (παράδοκίνα ταῦτα).

autem et quinquagesimo anno declinat jam in aetatem seniore: *quam habens* Dominus noster docebat.' Now the italicized words must mean 'which age' viz. 'aetatem seniore,' or 'old age,' the Lord *had* (or, *was beginning to have*): and although the context demands a different rendering, none different ought to have been given without warning of the deviation from the text.<sup>1</sup> In the face of these words I do not understand how Lightfoot can say (*B. E.* p. 57) 'Irenaeus does not commit the elders of the Asiatic School to his own interpretation of the passage quoted from St. John's Gospel, nor to his own view that our Lord was close upon fifty years old. He only asserts that the Gospel and the testimony of all the elders together support the view that our Lord was past middle life.' But Irenaeus' theory is that Jesus (ii. 22, 4) came to sanctify 'every age,' and that he was 'a mature man (juvenis) among mature men' and 'an old man among old men (senior in senioribus)'; and for this purpose it would not have sufficed that He should have simply '*declined towards* old age (declinasse in seniore aetate): He ought at least so closely to approximate to it that He might be called 'old' ('senior'). Accordingly, his statement is, in effect, 'Dominus noster aetatem seniore habens docebat'; the evidence is given by 'Evangelium et omnes seniores'—all at least who had met (?) (συμβεβληκόρες) John; these elders say that John handed down 'these things (Gk. ταῦτα),' or 'this very thing (Lat. id ipsum).' Some too had heard 'these same things (haec eadem) from the lips of other Apostles.' What can be more definite than this? No doubt, when we resort to the 'Gospel' to which Irenaeus refers (Jn. viii. 57), 'Thou art not yet fifty years old,' the bubble is pricked. Then we see that on one mere hasty controversial cry of a crowd, and that, too, negative, Irenaeus is willing to build up an elaborate structure to suit his theological theories. But what is the conclusion? Not that Irenaeus fails

to 'commit the Elders' as well as the Gospel to his theory, but that his recklessness of thought and expression makes him quite untrustworthy as to what the Elders really said.

Another misprint affects the important evidence of Papias given in Eus. *H. E.* iii. 39 and printed thus (*B. E.* p. 63 n.): 'Yet Papias himself, in the preface to his discourses, certainly does not declare that he himself was a hearer and an eye-witness of the Holy Apostles, but he shows, by the language which he uses, that he received the matters of the faith from those who were his (*sic*) friends.' For 'his,' read 'their,' the Gk. being τῶν ἐκείνοις γνωσμένων, i.e. those who were known to the Apostles. Also, since δι' ὧν φησὶ λέγειν is Eusebius' phrase for introducing the express words of an author, and since he here uses them to introduce a quotation from Papias, we may render 'But that he (Papias) had received the truths of the faith from those who were known to them (i.e. to the Apostles) he (Papias) informs (διδάσκει) us in the following terms, "I will not hesitate...."'

On p. 62 Lightfoot says, 'As Irenaeus uses the present tense, "the elders say," and yet the persons referred to belonged to a past generation and were no longer living when he wrote, he must be quoting from some written record.' But compare this with his note on λέγουσιν when used by Papias in Eus. *H. E.* iii. 39 τί Ἀνδρέας ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν..... ἃ τε Ἀποστόλων καὶ ὁ π. Ἰωάννης..... λέγουσιν (*S. R.* p. 150) 'The tense should probably be regarded as a historic present introduced for the sake of variety.' May not the present possibly be explained in Irenaeus as in Papias? I am disposed to think that Irenaeus *is* quoting from a written work, the work of Papias; but to say that he '*must* be' thus quoting is an exaggeration.

There are many other instances of error, and some of overstatement, in the Johanne portion of the *Biblical Essays*, which place it on an altogether different level from that of Lightfoot's Pauline work. I may hereafter point out some of these. The present specimens are taken from ten consecutive pages. I doubt whether a critic could pick out as many errors in a hundred or even a thousand pages of his Epistles of St. Paul.

EDWIN A. ABBOTT.

<sup>1</sup> Lightf.'s 'which was the case with our Lord' implies, not that the Lord 'had (reached) older age' but that He was 'from his fortieth and fiftieth year declining into older age.' The question arises, Why did Irenaeus insert 'and fiftieth'? Perhaps to cover the extreme exaggeration of his special pleading. He begins by arguing, 'Old age commences from forty—or, say fifty,' and then urges that Jesus was probably nearly fifty. It is hardly necessary to call attention to the reckless looseness of such language.

## PAPIAS AND THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

IN Acts i. 18 the established or non-western text gives the following account of the death of Judas:—

οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἐκτίσαστο χωρίον ἐκ μισθοῦ τῆς ἀδικίας, καὶ πρηνὴς γενόμενος ἐλάκησεν μέσος, καὶ ἐξεχύθη πάντα τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ.

But Theophyl. b. 195 quotes the account of Papias as follows: μέγα δὲ ἀσβεβείας ὑπόδειγμα ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ περιεπάτησεν ὁ ἰουδας πρηνὲς εἰς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τὴν σάρκα, ὥστε μῆδε, ὅπῃθεν ἅμαξα ῥαδίως διέρχεται, ἐκείνον δύνασθαι διελθεῖν etc.

Now in no single Greek copy do we read of Judas being swollen in his body etc. But in the old Armenian version Acts i. 18 runs thus: 'He acquired a villa out of the reward of iniquity, and being swollen up he burst in the middle and all his guts were poured out.'

The old Georgian version also reads: *da gansivna da gansxda shoris*, which means 'and he was swollen up and burst in the middle.'

Both these versions were therefore made from a Greek text in which vs. 18 ran: οὗτος... ἀδικίας καὶ πρηνὲς εἰς ἐλάκησεν μέσος κ.τ.λ. And this must have been how Papias read this passage of the Acts.

The western text, according to Blass, read here: οὗτος... ἀδικίας καὶ ἔδρσεν τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ πρηνὴς γενόμενος ἐλάκησεν κ.τ.λ. Blass argues from Bede's translation of πρηνὴς γενόμενος by 'suspensus' and Augustine's citation 'et collum sibi alligavit et dejectus in faciem disruptus est medius.' On another occasion I shall prove that Chrysostom (or a commentator whose work Chrysostom used) also had the latter reading, which is not therefore, as Tischendorf supposed, *liberius* on the part of Augustine. The triple variety of text in this passage is very curious; and I believe that the Georgian and Armenian versions, supported as they are by Papias, represent the most primitive of the three traditions.

FRED. C. CONYBEARE.

## THE TITLE 'QUAESTOR PRO PRAETORE.'

ONE of the minor puzzles of Roman constitutional history is the question why the title 'pro praetore' should have been attached to the 'quaestores' of senatorial provinces during the Empire. The title itself is applied to different classes of officials during the Republic. It was the ordinary designation of a quaestor left by his superior in command of a province (Sallust, *Iug.* 103), this title being usually assumed whether the province was consular or praetorian. It might also be applied to a commissioner who was given charge of a special department which demanded the exercise of the 'imperium.' Such a title was conferred on Cato when sent to annex Cyprus in 58 B.C. (Velleius, 2, 46) and on Piso when sent to Spain in 64 B.C. (Wilmanns, n. 1105; Sallust, *Cat.* 19). Both these usages are easily explained, since in both we have the theory of delegated or of specially conferred command; in both cases the lower kind of 'imperium' is necessary since there is no higher kind to which it can be subordinated. But in the public provinces of the Empire the quaestor bears this title even when the governor is present (Wilmanns, *Index*, p. 553), and there

must be some special reason for the apparent anomaly. In my article 'propraetor' in the *Dictionary of Antiquities* I attempted an explanation by suggesting that the title originated from the necessity of placing the quaestors on a level with the 'legati pro praetore,' the newly-created staff of the proconsuls of senatorial provinces. But this only shelves the difficulty; the explanation is insufficient because the title 'pro praetore' applied to the 'legati' in itself shows that these are no longer regarded as mere delegates of the proconsul but have a quasi-official position as judges in the provinces. [For the greater independence of these legates as compared with their Republican predecessors see Bethmann-Hollweg, *Civilprozess* ii. p. 102.] Why the quaestor should also bear this title, which is associated with independent jurisdiction and has no connection with his financial functions, is a question which has not yet, so far as I know, been satisfactorily answered.

The true reason is no doubt to be sought in the aedilician jurisdiction of the quaestor, created by the Empire, which is thus described by Gaius (i. 6):—



'Jus autem edicendi habent magistratus populi Romani—item in edictis aedilium curulium: quorum jurisdictionem in provinciis populi Romani quaestores habent: nam in provincias Caesaris omnino quaestores non mittuntur, et ob id hoc edictum in his provinciis non proponitur.'

Had this been merely a delegated jurisdiction the new title might not have been required, but it is clearly a created jurisdiction independent of delegation by the proconsul; it is, in fact, one of the many modes by which the unity of their administration was weakened under the imperial régime. It is true that the aedile at Rome has no 'imperium'; but this is one of the anomalies of the constitution. It is also true that (with the exception of the 'praefectus urbi') none of the other prefects who usurp so many of the functions of the 'aediles' possess the

'imperium.' But these are delegates of the 'princeps' within Rome. The traditions of the provinces had always been in this respect different from those of the city. Independent provincial jurisdiction implies the 'imperium,' as is evidenced by the familiar distinction between 'magistratus' and 'imperium' (Lex Tab. Bant. l. 16, 'quibus quisque eorum mag(istratum) imperiumve inierit; Lex Acilia Rep. l. 8, 'dum mag(istratum) aut imperium habebunt'). This is especially the case when this jurisdiction extends to criminal matters and is combined with the 'jus edicendi.' It must therefore have been in consequence of this addition to their functions and of their recognition as independent provincial pro-magistrates, that the quaestors of the Empire are 'quaestores pro praetore.'

A. H. J. GREENIDGE.

#### NOTES ON PUNCTUM, MOMENTUM.

CONSIDERABLE divergence of opinion exists among commentators concerning the difference in meaning—if any exists—between the expressions *puncto temporis*, *puncto horae*, *momento horae*, *momento temporis*, etc. This divergence may be found in the various interpretations put upon Hor. *Sat.* 1. 1. 8 and *Ep.* 2. 2. 172. These well-known passages read:

(1). *Sat.* 1. 1. 8.

*quid enim? concurritur: horae  
momento cita mors venit aut victoria laeta.*  
and

(2). *Ep.* 2. 2. 172.

*tamquam  
sit proprium quicquam, puncto quod mobilis  
horae,  
nunc prece nunc pretio nunc vi nunc morte  
suprema  
permutet dominos et cedat in altera iura.*

The first, the Scholiast says, is equivalent to *in puncto temporis*. From this some editors assert that *horae momento* here is equivalent to the *puncto mobilis horae* of (2). The correct view is given by Palmer and Müller. I propose in the main to reinforce their views by examining the other examples, and to see if there is any ascertainable distinction in meaning between the varying forms quoted.

The earliest usage of the sort is in Terence, *Phorm.* 184: *Tum temporis mihi punctum ad hunc rem est: erus adest.* Here

Geta is soliloquizing and means, 'a crisis is at hand.' *Punctum temporis* is a very definite point of time of no appreciable duration. Donatus in his commentary on this passage quotes the next example in time from Lucilius, *puncto uno horae quicumque invasit* as Müller reads (xiv. 21). Donatus therefore conceived of *puncto horae* as one moment in any hour, and as equivalent to Terence's *temporis punctum*. *Hora* has no different meaning from *tempus*.

Other examples of *punctum* are: Cicero, *pro Flacco*, 60: *uno puncto temporis*; *De Nat. Deor.* 1. 20. 52: *nullo puncto temporis*; *ibid.* 1. 24. 67: *minimis temporum punctis*; *Phil.* 8, 7. 20: *punctum temporis*; *pro Sest.* 24. 53: *puncto temporis eodem*; *Tusc.* 1. 34. 82: *punctum temporis*; *Verr.* 2. 1. 108: *punctum temporis*; Varro *Mysteria vii* (p. 174, Riese's ed.): *puncto temporis*; Caesar *B.C.* 2. 14: *puncto temporis*; 2. 25: *temporis puncto*; Livy 3. 27. 7: *puncto temporis*. Lucretius has *temporis puncto* in 1. 1109, 4. 164, 4. 193, and a variant peculiar to himself *puncto tempore* in 2. 263, 2. 456, 2. 1006, 4. 212, 6. 230, and another variant also peculiar to himself, *puncto diei*, in 4. 201. Seneca, *Ep.* 5. 9. 3, uses *punctum* by itself—*Punctum est quod vivimus et adhuc puncto minus, sed hoc minimum specie quadam longioris spatii natura derisit.*

The almost invariable construction, then, is *temporis puncto*, except in the two cases



in Lucilius and Horace. There is no doubt that Horace had Lucilius' *puncto uno horai* in mind when he wrote his own *puncto mobilis horae*. As regards the meaning, it will be seen upon a careful consideration of all the passages quoted, leaving the one in Horace out of the question for a moment, that *punctum temporis* must in every case mean the same thing as our 'moment,' that is, the very shortest period of time. In the passage from Lucilius this sense is also the most natural for *puncto uno horai*, apart from Donatus' evidence. There is therefore no reason why Horace's *puncto mobilis horae* should mean anything else, as all requirements of sense are met by this interpretation.

Turning now to *momentum* we find a greater variety of constructions. No case of *momentum* in this sense can be cited, so far as I know, before Livy. Used alone it occurs, *momento*, Livy 3. 63. 1; 3. 70. 13; 21. 14. 3; 24. 22. 9; 28. 6. 4. With *tempus*: *momento temporis*, Livy 21. 33. 10; 35. 11. 13; Petronius 28; Curtius 8. 13. 24; *eodem temporis momento*, Curtius 6. 7. 27; *momentum temporis*, id. 6. 9. 9. With *horae*: Livy 5. 7. 3: *horae momento*; 9. 16. 9: *momento unius horae*; 40. 15. 14: *momento illo horae*; Curtius 9. 6. 21: *momento unius horae*; Plin. H. N. 7. 51: *nullo horae momento*; and the passage already cited from Hor. Sat. 1. 1. 8 *horae momento*. It will be observed that *momentum* is rather more restricted in use than *punctum*, being mostly confined to Livy and Curtius. It becomes almost a peculiarity of Livy's style.

When these passages are studied, it will be seen that in three of the cases where *momento temporis* occurs, more than a moment is distinctly implied. Thus in Livy 21. 33. 10, 35. 11. 13, Petron. 28, a short time is necessarily meant. In Curtius 6. 7. 27, 6. 9. 9, where the expression is strengthened by *eodem* or *quidem*, the meaning seems to be 'in a moment,' and in Curtius 8. 13. 24 it cannot be asserted whether a short time or mere moment is intended. In Livy, where *momentum* is used alone, it is also apparently equivalent to the English 'in a moment.'

With *momento horae* the case is much clearer. In the five passages in Livy, Curtius, and Pliny, sense requires plainly that we interpret the phrase by 'in a short time' or something similar. These passages are cited in full:—

Livy 40. 15. 14,— ille diu ante praeparata meditata in me oratione est usus: ego id tantum temporis, quo accusatus sum, ad cognoscendum, quid ageretur, habui. utrum momento illo horae accusatorem audirem an defensionem meditarer?

5. 7. 3,— patefacta repente porta ingens multitudo facibus maxime armata ignes coniecit, horaeque momento simul aggerem ac vineas, tam longi temporis opus, incendium hausit.

9. 16. 9,— praesidium.....necopinato oppressum est et ab urbe plena hostium clamor sublatus; momentoque unius horae caesus Samnis, Satricanus captus, et omnia in potestate consulis erant.

Curtius 9. 6. 21,— Ex Asia in Europae terminos momento unius horae transivi.

Plin. H. N. 7. 51,— Maecenati triennio supremo nullo horae momento contigit somnus.

In all these the emphasis is on the idea suggested by *hora* not *momentum*.

Compare now one remaining passage in Pliny the Younger, *Paneg.* 56: *quod momentum, quod immo temporis punctum aut beneficio sterile aut vacuum laude?* From this it is plain that in Pliny's time there was a distinct difference in the meaning of the two words.

The conclusions are: (a) that at all stages of the language *punctum temporis* was probably the more usual expression for 'a moment'; (b) that in a more restricted way *momentum* with or without *temporis* was used sometimes to mean 'a moment,' sometimes 'a short time'; (c) that *momentum horae* meant distinctly a period of time longer than a moment; (d) that the Scholiast was wrong in making Horace's *horae momento* and *puncto mobilis horae* equivalent, and better sense is made by observing the distinction.

SAMUEL BALL PLATNER.

## STADTMÜLLER'S EDITION OF THE PALATINE ANTHOLOGY.

*Anthologia Graeca Epigrammatum Palatina cum Planudea.* Edidit HUGO STADTMÜLLER. Volumen primum: Palatinae Libr. I.—VI. Leipzig: Teubner. 1894. 6 Mk. Pp. xli. 419.

ON the 9th of July, 1813, Friedrich Jacobs concluded his preface to his great edition of the *Palatine Anthology* with the acknowledgment that much was still wanting towards its criticism and elucidation, and the hope that other scholars would carry on the work for which he had laid the foundation. It is singular, though not unaccountable, that from then till now no large or sustained attempt has been made to do so. The very excellence of Jacobs' work must have made many scholars feel unwilling or unable to touch it. No surviving work of antiquity, as he truly said, requires a wider or more profound knowledge of Greek literature in its commentators; and the specialization in scholarship which has gone on increasingly ever since has made a task of such magnitude and scope more and more difficult. Many scholars have dealt with it partially, and a number of monographs on particular epigrammatists have added largely to the material at the disposal of an editor. But with the exception of the well-known French edition—the practical merits of which for the reader and not for the scholar I would be the last to undervalue—the work of Jacobs has remained in effect not only the standard but the sole edition.

The first volume of the revised text on which Stadtmüller is now engaged appeared last year, and has not till now been followed by a second. A full criticism of his work must be deferred till the appearance of the general preface which he has, on perfectly valid grounds, thought it necessary to defer till the text of the seventh and ninth sections of the *Palatine Anthology* can be set forth in connexion with it. The appearance of this preface will be awaited with great interest: meanwhile it will be sufficient to indicate briefly the contents of the published volume and the new lights which the editor has been able to throw on the many perplexing questions involved; and to note in addition what he has to say on certain specific points of more than common interest.

This volume then contains the revised text, with an apparatus criticus, of the first six sections of the *Palatine Anthology*.

The prefatory remarks are brief but repay careful study. They begin with a description of the Palatine MS. itself and of the five hands through which it passed after it left the original scribe. This is followed by a similar but briefer description of the Planudean autograph, the so-called Codex Marcianus, and by a catalogue of the editions of the *Planudean Anthology* which have been used in forming a text. The Appendix Barberino-Vaticana which has recently been unearthed and edited by Sternbach (*Classical Review*, November 1890) is also noted. The single remark as to its contents 'epigrammata amissa a Planude quae e collectione Cephalana (quin ex ipso Palatino) videntur sumpta esse' will no doubt be expanded and defended later: in the meantime it can hardly pass unchallenged. If anything seems certain about this little collection it is that it was taken not from the Palatine Codex but from a lost and probably collateral MS.

Stadtmüller goes on with a few detached observations on the authorship of the epigrams in this volume as given by the two hands which had mainly to do with the Palatine MS., the principal scribe A and the corrector C, and then proceeds to what is the single constructive passage in the preface, a division of the *Ἐρωτικά* into five sections, drawn from what were in his view originally independent collections. Epigrams 1—102 are assigned to a book consisting mainly of the work of Rufinus; 103—132 are from the *Anthology* of Philippos; 133—214 from that of Meleager; 215—301 from that of Agathias; and eight epigrams (302—309) have been afterwards added from various sources. We are here on highly questionable ground, and it is almost useless to discuss the questions involved until we have Stadtmüller's full argument before us. It may be noted that he does not appear to give his adhesion to the theory that Rufinus was, in Sakolowski's words, 'a contemporary of Diogenianus and Lucilius.' It seems pretty certain that Lucilius was a century before Diogenianus; Rufinus may have been a contemporary of the latter, but the old theory which assigns him to the era of Justinian is at all events not disproved.

If we take a single well-known piece like the poem of Meleager, this new edition shows, more clearly and succinctly than

could be done before, the sort of textual problems one has constantly to deal with in the *Anthology*, and the wide divergences possible in a modern reconstituted text. Stadtmüller's own method is rather conservative. Thus in l. 31 he retains the *ἐκ λειμῶνος ἀμωμήτοιο σέλινα*, which seems to make less sense the more one thinks of it; and in the couplet on Anacreon he keeps the MS. τὸ μὲν γλυκὺ κεῖνο μέλισμα νέκταρος, εἰς δ' ἐλέγους ἀσπορον ἀνθέμιον, where some correction, either the *ἐν δ' ἐλέγους* of Jacobs or the *νεκταρέους δ' ἐλέγους* of Hermann, if not absolutely required, at least gets rid of a very difficult and confusing expression.

His own conjectures, which he has here and there, but in strict moderation, admitted into the text, do not strike one as very happy. In v. 38 he prints τῶνδ' ἔνεκεν θαρσύν οὔ ποτ' ἰὼ θιάσους for the τῶνδ' ἔνεκεν γὰρ ἴσως of the MSS. In v. 168, ἥδ' ὃν θέρους διαφῶντι χιῶν ποτόν, ἥδ' ὃν ναύταις ἐκ χειμῶνος ἰδεῖν εἰαρινὸν στρέφανον, rejecting (rightly as I think) the *ζέφυρον* of Hecker, he prints

*Στρέφανον*, which may very possibly be right: the evening rising of the Crown is placed by Ovid (*Fast.* iii. 459) on the 8th of March. In v. 197, οὐκέτι σοὶ φαρέτρη... πτερόεντας διστούς κρύπτει, Ἔρωσ' ἐν ἐμοὶ πάντα γὰρ ἔστι βέλη, where the lost word offers a perfect wilderness for conjecture, he chooses a very flat epithet of his own, *γλαφυρή*, to fill up the line. In v. 236, where a somewhat similar range of conjecture is offered by ὄμματα δ' οὐ λάοντα φυλάσσεται, he travels needlessly far away from the MSS. in conjecturing and printing ὄμματα δ' ἀενάοντα. In vi. 147, ἦν δ' ἄρα λάθην καὶ μὴν ἀπαιτῆς he prints Porson's καὶ μισθόν, only noting his own conjecture καὶ δῖς μιν, which was also independently made by Mr. Tucker (*Classical Review*, March 1892) and which is almost convincing.

Such are a few of the points to be noted in this very useful and very praiseworthy volume. It is to be hoped that we may not have to wait long for its successor.

J. W. M.

#### MARCHANT'S EDITION OF THUCYDIDES VII.

*Thucydides*, Book VII., edited by E. C. MARCHANT, M.A., Professor of Greek and Ancient History in Queen's College, London. Macmillan & Co.: London and New York. 1893. 3s. 6d.

AMONG the general features of this excellent edition may be noticed first the introduction, of which § 1 treats of 'The Siege Works of the Athenians' (with plan), and shows the independence of the editor. § 2 is a sketch of Nicias, and contains a defence of, or apology for, Thucydides' much criticized eulogy on the Athenian general. Prof. Marchant thinks Thucydides had no words to spare for Demosthenes, when he fell in Sicily, because he had always stood for the aggressive un-Periclean policy. He did have words to spare for Nicias because he had always approved Nicias' general peace-policy, which had been successful until this expedition—which Nicias had opposed—cost him his life.

Prof. Marchant's remarks everywhere show that he has made good use of Freeman. The chorographical and biographical notes are excellent, and are an admirable feature of this edition, as of Holden's. There is perhaps a minimum of grammatical refer-

ences, the few there are being to Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses*. Herodotean and Ionic usage is generally carefully noted, as was to be expected from Prof. Marchant. The notes on Thucydidean usage are often very good (e.g. on σφίσιν, 3, § 1), and little more space would have been required to indicate the usage in many other constructions (e.g. σχόντες Ῥηγίω, 1, § 2; ἀπόπειραν λαμβάνειν, 21, § 2). If it might be said that the notes in general, while undeniably good for the most part, are too meagre for an author like Thucydides, the plan of the series to which this edition belongs is to be blamed for this, not the editor.

Appendix i., on the first harangue of Nicias, is an interesting discussion, and appendix iii.—'Athens from July 414 to Sept. 413'—is decidedly helpful to the student. 'The Greek Index has been prepared with the object of providing readers with a conspectus of Thucydidean diction—ἡ ἀρχαία Ἀρχαία—so far as it is to be gathered from this book,' and is altogether to be commended.

The changes in the text, beyond those generally adopted in recent editions, are neither numerous nor startling. Prof. Marchant's own emendations that are

incorporated into the text are few in number. In 2, § 4 τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ τοῦ κύκλου πρὸς τὸν Τρώγιον—where Classen and Stahl bracket τοῦ κύκλου πρὸς τὸν Τρώγιον, and Holden inserts ἀπὸ with Wölfflin—Marchant inserts <ἀνω>, i.e. 'on the side of the κύκλος away from the low ground near the harbour.' In 7, § 1, where Classen and Holden bracket μέχρι, Stahl μέχρι τοῦ ἐγκαρσίου τείχους, Marchant writes μέχρι <τοῦ Εὐρυήλου> τοῦ ἐγκαρσίου τείχους (see p. xv.). In 7, § 3, where the MSS. read περαιωθῇ τρόπῳ ᾧ ἂν ἐν δακτύλῳ ἢ πλοίοις ἢ ἄλλως ὅπως ἂν προχωρῇ, Marchant writes τρόπῳ ᾧ ἂν ἐνῇ, κτέ=quoquo modo fieri posset. This is the most enticing of his changes. In 28, § 3, where the MSS. read τὸ γὰρ αὐτοὺς κτέ., Marchant places a comma before τὸ and reads τό γ' ἂν, αὐτοὺς κτέ., making the following clauses, (1) ἀποστήναι, (2) ἀντιπολιορκεῖν, (3) ποιῆσαι, explanatory apposition to the preceding ἤν, which = φιλονεικίαν. This is not bad; but the insertion, a few lines below, of <οἱ μὲν> after ὅσον, and the change, to balance this, of ὥστε into οἱ δὲ, is making rather free with the text, and is not in itself attractive. For the argument for οἱ δὲ instead of ὥστε, see appendix ii. and *Classical Review* vi. p. 303 f. These seem to be the most important

of Prof. Marchant's own changes. Certainly his κατοκνοῦσι τὸν πλοῦν, 31, § 4, is too far from the MSS. καταλύουσι τὸν πόλεμον, and inferior on other grounds to Herbst's καταλύουσι τὸν πλοῦν.

As to the crux in 13, § 2 ἐπ' αὐτομολίας προφάσει, Prof. Marchant's 'taking the opportunity afforded by desertion' does not commend itself. Clearly what the context seems to require is 'on any opportunity of deserting,' as Classen probably means by his explanation. In 41, § 1 the ἔσπλοι are explained as 'the pass left in the σταύρωμα,' which seems probable. In 43, § 2 no light is thrown upon the puzzling τοξευμάτων. On οὐκ ἄνευ δαίμων, 75, § 4, Prof. Marchant says 'Valla wrongly renders *non sine multis obstestationibus*, and all the editors have mistaken the meaning. The wounded and weak did not stop until they were so utterly exhausted both in body and mind that they could utter only a few appeals and groans. So far from there being no sense in δαίμων there is a terrible amount of sense, both as a description of the scene and as an indication of the temperament of Thucydides as a man and as an artist.' But this is more positive than convincing.

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#### WILKINS' EDITION OF THE CATILINE ORATIONS.

*The Orations of Cicero against Catiline.*

Edited after KARL HALM, by A. S. WILKINS, Litt.D., LL.D. New and revised edition. London: 1894. 2s. 6d.

PROFESSOR WILKINS has worked so long and so successfully to promote the accurate study of Cicero in England, that a new issue of the Speeches against Catiline cannot fail to be warmly welcomed. The elaborate edition of the *De Oratore* ranks high amongst the literature that is ever gathering round the works of the great Roman; and the school edition of the *De Imperio Cn. Pompeii* is one of the best of its class. The companion volume, the Speeches against Catiline, has now been revised with that thoroughness for which Professor Wilkins' work is justly valued. Introduction text and notes have been largely improved, sometimes by additions or alterations, sometimes by excisions; while the bulk of the original book has not increased

materially. For this we feel grateful to the editor, whose practical experience of teaching has guarded him against the too common fault of prolixity, so fatal to the success of a school edition. It is superfluous to praise a book, the merits of which are well known. I content myself with a few remarks of a supplementary character. Where I differ from the accomplished editor, I do so in all humility.

The introduction remains largely the same, but has been amplified or curtailed, as occasion demanded. Many references have been added to modern authorities; thus the arguments of John (*Philologus* vol. 46) about the project to murder Cicero receive due consideration. The account of the first conspiracy is fuller: we miss Mr. Strachan-Davidson's interesting view that it is 'wholly or almost wholly apocryphal' (*Cicero and the Fall of the Roman Republic* p. 91), which had probably not been published till this revision was completed. The



account of the MSS. has been remodelled, in the light of the criticism of Müller, Nohl, and Laubmann. In two trifling respects I venture to think the introduction might have been improved. Firstly the English style is sometimes rather negligent, as in the italicized words in the following: p. xii. 'the scheme *got wind*,' p. xiv. 'the *consular comitia* for 64' (rather 'the election of consuls'), p. xv. 'C. Antonius was *suing* for the consulship' (rather 'standing'), p. xv. 'the conspiracy was ratified with the *most fearful oaths*.' These are little blots; but as children learn their language from their school-books, the teacher should be a purist. Secondly the character of Catiline is drawn in truly sombre colours: his 'gigantic strength' coupled with his 'blunted moral feelings' and 'awful crimes' may well appal the modest and virtuous child of the nineteenth century. But it might fairly have been intimated that the great Roman advocate is not to be implicitly trusted, and that even Catiline was possibly not the ogre of these Speeches. Though he was undoubtedly guilty of extortion (*Ad Att.* i. 1, 1 Catilina, si iudicium erit meridie non lucere, certus erit competitor), Cicero was ready to defend him, and, if successful, to unite with him in his canvass for the consulship (*Ad Att.* i. 2, 1 spero, si absolutus erit, coniunctiorem illum nobis fore in ratione petitionis). He seems then hardly to have been so utterly despicable, if Cicero could have contemplated him as his own colleague. At any rate, in defending Caelius eight years after Catiline's death, when it is not the orator's immediate object to blacken Catiline, he can speak of him with measured language, in a passage so charming that I cannot refrain from translating it: 'It is really astonishing, the way in which that man managed to secure so many friends, to engage them by his attention, to share what he had with them all, to serve the interests of all his supporters with his purse and influence and personal exertions, and even if necessary by crime and daring; to keep changing his character, adapting it to circumstances, moulding and altering it in endless ways: with the morose he was strict, with the light-hearted he was jovial, with the old he was dignified, with the young engaging, with criminals his manner was reckless, with debauchees extravagant' (*pro Caelio* § 13). The notes, it is true, occasionally suggest that Catiline was not fallen so low as Cicero's invective represents; it is proved that he refused to act on the advice of Lentulus to reinforce the conspiracy with the help of slaves (i. §

27 n.); and the more odious charges are shown to be questionable (i. § 14 n.). But such matter would have been more conveniently treated in the introduction.

The text has been improved in several passages, though these Speeches present so few difficulties that there was not much to do. In i. § 3 nam illa nimis antiqua praetereo, quod C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Maesium... manu sua occidit Prof. Wilkins follows Müller in reading *quod* (Muretus) for *quodque*; but in spite of Müller's citations (p. lxxv.) I believe *quodque* to be right; it makes the pl. *illa* easier to understand, and if parallel be asked I appeal to Prop. 4, 6, 49 *quodque* uehunt prorae Centaurica saxa minantes, tigna caua et pectos experire metus. In ii § 19 I cannot approve of deinde magnos animos esse in bonis uiris, magnam concordiam, maximam *adesse* multitudinem, magnas praeterea militum copias. The supplement *adesse* is due to Nohl: editors of Cicero are too prone to resort to supplements: this must be wrong on account of 'me ipsum uigilare *adesse*' just above. The MSS. seem right, but we should punctuate magnam concordiam; maximam [sc. *esse*] multitudinem etc. In ii. § 20 *praediis lectis* for *lecticis* is a gain. In iv. § 10 uideo de istis... *adesse* non neminem, ne de capite uidelicet ciuium Romanorum sententiam ferat. is et nudius tertius in custodiam ciues Romanos dedit the reference of *is* to *non neminem* is so awkward that I propose to read *ne...sententiam FERATIS*. At *nudius tertius* ('for fear you should vote'). The supplement *purgabo* (iv. § 11), accepted from Müller, deserves high praise.

The notes have been considerably recast. I could have wished that references to the now antiquated works of Corssen and Ramsay had been omitted. Ramsay is not a safe authority on Roman antiquities, still less on Roman topography, and in the notes on the Palatine (i. § 1) and the Comitium (i. § 15) we expect the names of Middleton and Lanciani (both more accessible than Richter); on the forms *accesso*, *arcesso* Nettleship might have been quoted (*Latin Lexicography*, p. 19 where *arceo* is suggested as a possible derivation for *arcesso*): and in the numerous notes on spelling the omission of the name of Brambach, the chief authority, is strange. The translation 'enrolled fathers' for *patres conscripti* (i. § 4) is barely intelligible unless it is added that they were the fathers put on the list of the senate originally by the king (cp. Cic. *Phil.* 13 § 28). *Vadimonia deserere* is rather vaguely explained 'to neglect the legal obligations



to which they had bound themselves' (ii. § 5). *Honestas* means 'respectability' i.e. possession of honores, not 'high character' (ii. § 25). But Professor Wilkins has done so much that it is perhaps ungrateful to exclaim:

hoc, precor, emenda: quod si correxeris  
unum,  
nullus in egregio corpore naevus erit.

S. G. OWEN.

#### TORR'S ANCIENT SHIPS.

*Ancient Ships*, by CECIL TORR, M.A. Illustrated. (Cambridge University Press: 1894. Pp. x. and 139.) 10s. 6d.

IN this careful monograph Mr. Torr has made a good contribution to the literature of one of the most difficult branches of Classical Archaeology. He himself tells us in his preface that this is but a preliminary canter to a large and exhaustive work on ancient shipping, which is to comprise everything bearing on ancient navigation from 1000 B.C. to 1000 A.D. He is evidently fully alive to the laborious nature of the task. He has done well to publish this little book by itself as it will serve to pioneer the way for his *δευτέρος πλοῦς* and to clear away some of the countless difficulties which beset the investigator at every point. Mr. Torr has mastered the literature of his subject and *more suo* applies the lash to more than one of his predecessors, and with some justification in at least one case which he quotes, where writer after writer has simply borrowed from his predecessor without ever seeking to verify the sources for himself. Yet even the most infallible of us is liable to err, and so we ought to show as far as possible due consideration to the shortcomings of men from whose books we ourselves draw much that is good, even while we may detect mistakes of carelessness and stupidity. Thus even Mr. Torr with all his care and conscientiousness makes a slip on p. 2 which, if I mistake not, would excite the wrath of Semitic scholars. 'Among the Greeks the oars were collectively called *tarsos*, and among the Hebrews ships of a certain type were known as ships of *Taršiš*; and *Tarsos* and *Taršiš* were the Greek and Hebrew names for *Tarsus* in Cilicia. The coincidence suggests that this city was preeminent in furthering the use of oars upon the Mediterranean. But of this there are no records.' Naturally indeed there are no records, for the Hebrew *Taršiš* is not *Tarsus* in Cilicia, but *Tartessus* in Spain. The term 'ship of *Taršiš*' may be

paralleled by such English expressions as 'East Indiaman,' 'Australian clipper,' or 'American liner,' where the name of the country describes not the region to which the ship belongs, but the country to which she trades.

The oars of a ship are called her wings. And as *τάρος* is the term specially applied to the wings of birds, it is appropriate in its application to ships, which in primitive minds are regarded as sentient beings, especially as birds. For example, there is in the Cambridge Ethnological Museum a beautiful canoe in the form of a bird from the Solomon Islands. Conversely, classical writers call birds' wings their oars (*πτερόγων ἐρετμοῖσι, remigium alarum*). We naturally look with eagerness to see if Mr. Torr has at last got a solution for the vexed question of how the rowers and banks of rowers were arranged, not only upon triremes such as those employed by the Greeks in the Peloponnesian war, but also for quinquiremes, septiremes, ships with ten banks of rowers such as those of Mark Antony at the battle of Actium, and for the still more difficult problem of how a ship of forty banks was constructed and managed.

Here the reader is disappointed. For although Mr. Torr has done good service in bringing together all the data available for the elucidation of the subject, we must confess that the problem, if it is soluble, still remains to be solved. Mr. Torr supposes that the rowers in a trireme were arranged in three tiers, each man working a separate oar, but in an excellent note on p. 54 he himself points out that *τριῆρης* does not mean fitted with three oars, but rather means fitted in three ways.

The ten-banked ships of Antony's fleet stood ten feet out of the water. This would give but one foot of freeboard to each tier of rowers. This seems much too little. When we turn to the pictures of ancient ships most carefully collected by Mr. Torr, we are struck by the fact to which he himself calls attention on p. 51 that in no representa-

tion of an ancient ship do we see more than two tiers of rowers. Thus in the picture of the Attic triremes of about 400 B.C. Mr. Torr has to suppose that the artist has left out one tier of oars, and when we come to the Roman ships from Trajan's Column he has to resort to a similar explanation. We naturally should expect to find that the ancient artist somewhere or other would have given us a picture of three-banked, five-banked, or ten-banked ships, if such things really ever existed in the sense in which Mr. Torr and many more beside him have taken these terms.

The coins of Mark Antony, where the ship is a favourite type, ought to show us a ten-banked ship, or at least the artist ought to have made an attempt to show a series of the oar-banks rising one above the other. If the coin-engravers were so particular as to always give correctly the thirteen plates of the carapace of the tortoise on all except the earliest coins of Aegina, it is difficult to understand why the artists were so careless in depicting ships. The engraver of the common English medal of Admiral Vernon, who put a number of ships on the reverse of the medal, makes a clear distinction between three-masted and two-masted ships.

Mr. Torr is doubtless right in deriving *thranites*, the name given to the rower who sat highest up, from *threnus*. In the Homeric ship it is clear that this means an elevated sort of step or platform at the stern of the ship on which the helmsman stood. The *thranitai* ought to be men who rowed from this raised portion at the stern, but it is always assumed that they are the rowers in the uppermost of three tiers. There is up to the present no proof that the term *thranites* was ever applied to such a series of banks running along the central part of the ship. It may be possibly worth considering whether the *trivēnes* of the Greeks had only two banks of rowers, *thalamitai* and *zugitai*, with certain others rowing with long oars from the elevated part towards the stern.

Mr. Torr leaves the question of many-banked ships without any attempt at solution. The forty-banked ship described by Athenaeus after Callixenus, he regards with unfeigned scepticism. Her length was 280 cubits, her breadth 38 cubits, whilst her draught was less than 4 cubits. Certainly

40 tiers of rowers rising one above the other would have insured a capsizing. The general tendency of modern inquiry is to show that the ancient writers were not such gross liars as it has been the fashion to regard them when scholars met with any difficulty which they could not explain. Perhaps Callixenus was quite right, and we from our imperfect knowledge are judging him too harshly. The term translated as bank or tier is *στοῖχος*. This simply means a row, looked at from any point of view, whether a series of rows rise one over the other as in an old three-decker, or if we place a series of men standing or sitting on deck. Now in the mediaeval galleys we find that three men worked each oar, the larger-sized (*galea*) had 5 or 6 men at each oar, and the largest (*galeazza*) had 10 men. In such a ship as the latter, if one looked along from stern or stem, he would see 20 *στοῖχοι* of rowers, yet such a ship from the side view showed only a single bank of oars, as in the great Nile barge figured by Mr. Torr.

I wish Mr. Torr had given his reasons for believing that the ancients never knew the practice of setting a number of men to each oar. He regards this as an invention of Byzantine times. Of course if he can prove his negative, as he may very well be able, my suggestion for helping to an explanation of many-banked ships falls to the ground.

In his larger work it is to be hoped that Mr. Torr will deal with other ships of the ancient world besides those of the Mediterranean. For instance the ships of the Veneti of Armorica, the rigging and sea-going qualities of which are described by Caesar and Strabo, must always have a great interest for the inhabitants of these islands, and in no less degree the ships of the Norsemen. In the latter case we have the great advantage of having an actual specimen in the well-known Viking ship.

A chapter dealing with such matters somewhat on the lines of Mr. Boehmer's monograph on 'Prehistoric Ships' would give completeness to such a work as Mr. Torr has in hand—a work which, if we are to judge by his first effort, will be carried out with great thoroughness and a complete first-hand knowledge of his subject.

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.

## CHURCH'S HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL ODES OF HORACE.

HORACE.—*The Historical and Political Odes*, with Introduction and Notes, by A. J. CHURCH, M.A. London: Blackie & Son. 1894. 2s. 6d.

THE object of this work is to bring together the odes which Horace wrote on the general condition of the state and in the interests of Augustus, in order that, by directing our attention on those to the exclusion of the poems of lighter strain, a clear view may be attained of Horace as a political poet. It is no doubt desirable that selections from Horace should be occasionally read in this way: but we hardly think that a new volume is required for that purpose. Only students who are somewhat advanced or who have read, or presumably will read, all the odes, will be able to appreciate properly the position of Horace as a political writer: and it is desirable that such students should become the possessors of a complete edition of Horace's works. The object aimed at by the present editor will be best attained by the addition of a short section to the introduction of the cheap, attractive and scholarly edition of Mr. Page, giving lists of the poems arranged according to subjects—political, amatory, admonitory, convivial, etc.

This selection consists of twenty-five poems, viz.: *Epod.* vii. xvi. iv. i., *Od.* i. 14, *Epod.* ix., *Od.* i. 37, 2, ii. 7, 1, 15, iii. 1 to 6, 24, i. 35, 12, iv. 4, 14, 5, 2, 15. It is a good selection: but perhaps the editor who wishes to have no mixture of the frivolous and the base might have omitted iii. 6, 21—32. We are surprised that neither *Carm. Sec.* nor the prelude to it iy. 6 appears. The merit of the editor is shown in the sound judgment with which he rejects unsatisfactory views even when supported by great names; Appendix B against Plüss's view of *Epod.* ix. 21—24 is a good example. The commentary is frankly stated to be a compilation from Orelli, Wickham, Page and Marshall. We cannot but think that it lacks finish. Thus, to take the notes on the last five odes given, iv. 4, 26 *indoles* is not the emotional as opposed to the intellectual part of man, but the capacities belonging to a man by nature, his natural gifts opposed often to what is fully developed by practice. The Greek lines quoted on 29 are from the *Alcmaeon* not the *Alcmena*. At iv. 14, 17 young students will not be much assisted

when they read '*spectandus* according to Wickham = *θανασσός* followed by *όσος*,' even when there is added (after due approval has been given to the correct view of Orelli) 'the Greek construction would be preferably *θανασσόν*.' This is too obscure. It is very questionable if *βαθυκίτης* (or *μεγακίτης*) is a proper parallel for *beluosus*: those words rather mean 'with deep hollows.' In the passage quoted from Aelian [*read V(aria) H(istoria) for Op.*] the exact opposite sense to what is intended is given by reading *φυγοκινδυνωτάτους* for *φιλοκ*. There should have been a note on the difficult *parturit* in iv. 6, 27. At l. 34 an editor of political odes ought certainly to have given a more accurate and detailed account of the worship of the Lares under Augustus (such is to be found in Rushforth's *Latin Historical Inscriptions*, pp. 59—60). iv. 2, 14 did not Pindar write *four* (not three) books of *Epinicia*? iv. 2, 33 *plectrum* is a quill not a bow. 50 *procedit* is read, but *procedis* is translated. iv. 15, 9 the full form of the name is *Ianus Quirinus* not *Ianus Quirini*, which I think occurs nowhere except in this passage of Horace. In the notes to these five odes there are the following false references: p. 126, *Aen.* ii. 751 (for xi. 753); p. 129, *Liv.* xxvii. 57 (for 51); p. 132, *Epist.* i. 1, 43 (for 46): *Eur. Ion* 1254 (for 1261): p. 133, *Theognis* i. 75 (for 175); p. 134, *Cic. Cat.* ii. 4 (for i. 4, 9); p. 136, *Odes* i. 3, 32—33 (for 34—35): *Ov. Trist.* i. 90 (for i. 1, 90, where read *aequoreis* for *Icariis*); p. 137, *Odes* i. 8, 17 (for iv. 8, 28); p. 138, *Verg. Georg.* iv. 16 (for 169); p. 140, *Verg. Georg.* iv. 75—6 (for iv. 475—6). Also we find printed on p. 131, *όπας*; p. 134, *ήμαρ*; p. 137, *Chimaerae* (for *Chimaera*); p. 131, 6, xii. 50 (for 5); p. 133, 51, xvii. (for xxiv.), 36; p. 140, 5, xix. (for xxiii.), 18; p. 140, 23, xxi. (for xx.), 56. This is too long a list considering the small number of references made. We cannot see the relevance of the following references in the notes to iv. 15—l. 6 to iii. 4, 22; l. 10 to i. 12, 29; l. 14 to iii. 4, 26—and it ought not to have been said (p. 110) that the disaster of Carrhae happened in 55 B.C. But the points which are commented on are as a rule judiciously chosen.

L. C. PURSER.

## TOZER'S SELECTIONS FROM STRABO.

*Selections from Strabo with an Introduction on Strabo's Life and Works*, by the Rev. H. F. TOZER, M.A., F.R.G.S. etc. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1893.) 12s.

THE genial author of *Researches in the Highlands of Turkey, The Islands of the Aegean*, etc., has again appeared before the public. In his former books we have seen him in the light of a champion of the descriptive and historical side of geography, delighting also in everything that relates to manners and customs, to the folk-lore and traditions of the countries under discussion. It was in that character that he first won men's hearts, and many will recall with pleasure the delight with which they read—or rather devoured—his *Researches* [twenty years ago, alas!]. Later on his chats with us about the Isles of Greece have filled us with longings for the well-loved shores. Μαλέας γὰρ κάμψαντες οὐκ ἐπελαβόμεθα τῶν οἰκαδῶ, if we may strain the proverb somewhat. For Greece is the home of the soul for every Hellenist. And now he challenges our criticism in another line of work, for which his studies, training, and cast of mind make him abundantly fitted—fitted, indeed, as are few. He is now the editor and commentator, who has done his work both well and with his old-time charm. If we have said that he is now working along new lines, we shall have to modify the statement at once, for the present work is a necessary corollary of those which have preceded it. Indeed, judging Mr. Tozer from his writings, we believe that we have noticed in him the peculiar Strabonic mind, for both of them are apostles of historical geography, or, as we might say, of the philosophy of geography.

The present work is a chrestomathy of Strabo, for which Mr. Tozer has chosen those passages of his author which are not only most interesting to the general reader, but also best illustrate Strabo's habit of tracing the influence of the features of a land on the character and history of its inhabitants. It is well that Mr. Tozer has given us these Selections, for often Strabo is ineffably dull, and few could endure to read him from cover to cover from sheer love of him. In making these Selections Mr. Tozer follows strictly the order of the different books of Strabo. At first sight this method seems natural, and yet it is

open to criticism on the ground that passages with kindred contents or that illustrate the one the other might with advantage have been arranged side by side without reference to Strabo's order. Each excerpt is preceded by an introduction which together with the admirable foot-notes gives the reader all the assistance possible with our present lights, and makes the reading of the original instructive as well as delightful. In these introductions and foot-notes Mr. Tozer exhibits a great *Belesenheit* and a complete mastery of the literature relating to Strabo. For instance his introduction to Strabo's account of the two Comanas gives a summary of what is known concerning the great male and female deities of Asia, i.e. Men and Ma, or Sabazius and Agdistis, or Attis and Rhea-Cybele, that is at once instructive and quite up to date. The same is true of the explanatory foot-notes throughout.

In his introduction to the entire work Mr. Tozer has produced the best extant account of Strabo's life, works, and character. While for him M. Dubois is the most trustworthy of the writers on Strabo, still nothing that has been written about the great geographer has escaped the watchful eye of the editor. Indeed the introduction is worked out with such carefulness and good judgment that we feel ourselves in the hands of one fully able to guide us aright through the doubtful points in the biography of Strabo. And they are many. The year assigned by various scholars as the birth-year of Strabo varies between 68 and 54 B.C. Mr. Tozer, following Niese, the most voluminous writer on the subject, places Strabo's birth in the year 63 B.C. But this assignment cannot be accepted as unmistakably true, because it is based upon a calculation and a mode of argument too subtle to be at once convincing, as Mr. Tozer himself fears. The same may be said with regard to the date assigned for Strabo's death—21 A.D. There is certainly an element of probability for such assignment in both cases but, after all has been said, we cannot escape the feeling that it is mainly shrewd guessing. And yet most, or at all events very many, of the dates in Grecian history and biography are fixed by just such arguments.

The date and place of composition of the great work of Strabo are questions of great



interest. The conclusion is that it was not written at a stretch, but that different chapters were composed at different periods of the author's life, though this too is based upon a shrewd calculation and mode of argument. Häbler claims that Rome was the place of composition, basing his argument chiefly on Strabo's use of *δεῦρο* and *ἐνθάδε*. Mr. Tozer shows that Häbler's argument is by no means conclusive and points to the fact that Strabo's book was wholly unknown in Rome and was unrecognized in antiquity in general. Had the book been published in Rome, certainly so diligent a compiler as Pliny would not have been unacquainted with it, as in point of fact he was. The difficulty disappears at once if the book had been published in so remote a place as Amasia—the birth-place of Strabo. The voluminous character of the work, the expense involved in its reproduction, and its publication in Amasia were all unfavourable to its circulation. Indeed Strabo failed of recognition until the Middle Ages, when he was the geographer *par excellence*. In modern times the estimate of Strabo has varied greatly from the unmerited contempt of Müllenhoff, who finds him a dull unintelligent compiler, to the extravagant praise

of Alex. von Humboldt, who believes that 'his work surpassed all other geographical labours of antiquity by the diversity of its subjects, and the grandeur of its composition.' Strabo wrote neither for Greeks nor for Romans but for the general reader, and Mr. Tozer is unquestionably right when in his preface he says, 'It is hardly too much to say, that there is no author on whom our knowledge of the ancient world so much depends as it does on Strabo; and the information which he imparts is of service, not only to the geographer and the historian, but also to naturalists, and to students of folk-lore and of traditions of various kinds: yet it must be confessed that in our own day, though he is often referred to, he is but little read.' This is due, as has been hinted, to the fact that as a whole Strabo is dull for the general reader—though the specialist will find him entertaining enough—and his Greek is far from being classical. Mr. Tozer's work is intended to popularize Strabo and his *Selections* appeal to the general reader and the cultivated man everywhere, as did the original Strabo. To such then it may be warmly commended.

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## ARCHAEOLOGY.

### THE LEMNIA OF PHEIDIAS, AND THE PARTHENON SCULPTURES.

(i.) My reconstruction of the Athene Lemnia is disputed by M. Paul Jamot, who has attempted an elaborate refutation of it in an article entitled 'Minerve à la ciste' (*Monuments Grecs*, Nos. 21-22, 1893-1894). Although M. Jamot's arguments scarcely require an answer, it is due to the high scientific position of that periodical that I should reply to him. It goes without saying that in scientific questions a controversialist is at least expected to have read the opinions which he seeks to controvert; M. Jamot does indeed assure us that he has read my discussion in the *Meisterwerke*<sup>1</sup> about the Lemnia: but since he is certainly ignorant what is the point, and what statues are under discussion, and since he does not even know what the two plates (I. and II.) of my book represent, I should have supposed,

<sup>1</sup> The German edition is here referred to as *Germ.*; the English as *Eng.*

without this assurance, that his entire knowledge of the matter was based on a newspaper article. Is it possible otherwise that reading and understanding can really be two such different things? I thought I had made it sufficiently clear and obvious to any one who takes the trouble to read attentively; yet M. Jamot thinks the question turns on a Dresden statue (he speaks of 'le corps,' 'le torse de Dresde') to which I absolutely arbitrarily assigned the Bologna head; consequently he thinks that his own personal taste and that of his friends and their subjective sensibility are fully qualified to decide as to the correctness of this combination. He is clearly unaware that two statues in Dresden are referred to, both of which are figured on Pl. I.—II. of my book, and that the head of the one (clearly differentiated in *Germ.* p. 5; *Eng.* p. 4 foll.) belongs to the torso, since the broken surfaces exactly fit one another, fracture for fracture. This head is an exact replica of the Bologna head; and for this reason the

cast of the latter in Dresden was used for the completion of the second torso, fitting the socket of the neck as if it had been chiselled expressly for the purpose (*Germ.* p. 6; *Eng.* p. 5): this fact was naturally not demonstrable, inasmuch as it is purely a coincidence, seeing that it may just as well have belonged to a third replica.

M. Jamot remarks, still without noticing that two Dresden statues are referred to, 'la partie antique de la tête placée sur le torse de Dresde, identique à la tête de Bologne'; yet he thinks that Treu chose 'le parti le plus sage' when he had this head separated from the torso—certainly 'le parti le plus sage' for M. Jamot would have been to read my book more attentively before embarking on this question. As however he has published his opinion, I may remind him that Treu will hardly thank him for praising as 'sagesse' a former error of his. As a matter of fact, on my pointing out to Treu the uniformity of head and body, the latter, with his natural conscientiousness, at once remedied his former error and replaced the head. Seeing that the two fitted one another,—not, I admit, at the edges,—but break for break on the inner surfaces; and seeing besides that on the one hand on the torso, and on the other hand on a portion of the neck still adhering to the head, the outlines are traceable of a fragment of marble having been split away, and that these outlines correspond exactly in the two cases, all possibility of doubt as to the head and body formerly belonging to each other is absolutely excluded; and as my combination had thus convinced the wholly unbiased authorities of the Dresden Museum, the two portions were once more united to each other. Though it is quite superfluous on my part to go into the question of M. Jamot's arguments, seeing that these are now wholly pointless, I will do so nevertheless, in order to return him the fullest measure of justice.

First be it remarked that, little as he has grasped of the question at issue, still less has he noticed the striking illustration of the statue which is afforded by an ancient gem. This gem (described *Germ.* p. 8, figured pl. 32, 2; *Eng.* p. 6, fig. 1 more clearly) copies sufficiently well the upper part of the Dresden statues put together by me. The short, confined hair, the fillet, the treatment of the waves of hair, which leave the ear free, the neck, the modelling of the dress at the breast, no less than the dress itself with the lie of the folds on the breast,

the arrangement of the aegis and the position of the raised left arm, all these details are copied with absolute exactness. The gem might seem to have been carved expressly as the final confirmation of my combination; but it happens to have been known as long ago as the last century.

M. Jamot has never referred to all this; nay, he has not even obtained a cast from the original in Dresden; he has only concerned himself with the reproductions in my book, and merely consulted his own taste, which however seems to be still but little trained to the handling of antiques. He experiences a 'malaise' before the reproduction; he sees in it a marked disproportion; the head is much too small for the figure; he even goes so far as to speak disparagingly of the 'grêle et gauche figure, imaginée par M. Furtwängler.'

To assert that the head is too small is an error. The breast of the goddess of battle is very powerful and broad: in contrast to this the fine small face with the short confined hair does certainly give the impression of being small; but this contrast is intentional, and serves as a characteristic of the goddess. The measurements show that the head in reality is not in the least degree too small; it is of eminently normal proportions; that is to say, the relation of the height of the face to that of the whole figure is exactly the same as in the traditional canon of Vitruvius, the Doryphoros canon of Polykleitos, and in the female statues which have come down to us of precisely the Pheidias period:<sup>1</sup> i.e. the height of the face (0.196m., from the edge of the hair to the end of the chin) is  $\frac{1}{6}$  that of the body (this being 1.965m. from crown to sole, without the sandals). If M. Jamot had taken the trouble to study a cast, he could himself easily have corrected his impression by means of these measurements.

M. Jamot says further that the Bologna head cannot be from the hand of the same artist who chiselled 'the torso.' But no one has ever asserted that it was. What he really seems to mean is that the grandiose, broad style shown in the drapery does not harmonize with the crisp fine treatment of the head; if so, this merely betrays the fact that he fails to comprehend the style of the period in question, in which it is actually a characteristic feature that the face and hair are treated in a crisp

<sup>1</sup> E.g. the 'Venus Genetrix' and the 'Demeter' in Berlin, which is referred to *Meisterv.* p. 116. For the measurements of both statues see Kalkmann, *Die Proportionen des Gesichts*, pp. 92, 104.

sharpness with finest chiselling, whereas the woollen stuff of the drapery is rendered with power and solidity.

Next he affirms that the Bologna head is that of a man, on account of its headdress: female heads never having the hair so short, nor arranged in this way: the head represents, as he thinks, an athlete. Evidence or example from the art which has come down to us he gives none; he contents himself with a blank assertion, as if he set himself above all facts. Of course the exact opposite of his assertion is the fact: there is not one single male head in existence which has this arrangement of the hair around the forehead; it is even a characteristic of female heads. That this arrangement alone was a sufficient mark of the sex as female, and that Conze was consequently wrong when he published the head as male, I have already shown in my book (*Germ.* p. 22; *Eng.* p. 13). Moreover, every one knows that in the fifth century hair of a length such as we have in the Bologna head (which, if let down, would fall about to the end of the neck, *Germ., loc. cit.*) is not altogether unusual among women: see for example the women in the E. pediment of Olympia, the Kore of the great Eleusinian relief, and the Polykleitan Hera on the coins of Elis and Argos: also the Amazon of Kresilas had short hair. I have shown at some length in my book (*Germ.* p. 26; *Eng.* p. 16), that the crisp roll of hair of the Bologna head is frequently found in the type of Athene of the strong style of the fifth century. I trust that M. Jamot will even now consult these references somewhat more fully; and I will therefore call his attention to two further interesting examples which represent Athene with even shorter hair than she has in the Bologna head. Firstly, an Attic krater in Vienna (685)<sup>1</sup> on which Athene is represented without a helmet and with simply treated hair, not confined, but quite short like that of a youth: on the hair lies a wreath,<sup>2</sup> painted white: I have satisfied myself by personal examination of the original that no restoration or painting-over of any kind whatsoever has been applied. Secondly, a terracotta relief of the Glyptothek at Munich (no. 39e), representing an Athene head of strong style; here again she is helmetless, and has loose unconfined short locks, which however only reach to the upper part of the neck:

it is just the ends of the locks that are antique, whereas the hair is otherwise considerably restored.<sup>3</sup>

Lastly, M. Jamot asserts that the Bologna head is not Pheidias, but Polykleitan, in style! It represents an athlete as Diadumenos, and is a work of the Polykleitan school. From this point all possibility of an understanding between us comes to an end: M. Jamot is ignorant of the most elementary differences which distinguish the Polykleitan head from the Pheidias. He does not seem to be aware that since Conze wrote his *Beiträge* we have made some slight advance.—In other respects also he takes up a position which for a long time past we have fortunately been enabled to regard as antiquated. Thus for instance he reconstructs an unknown *chef d'œuvre* as the type ('le type') of 'Minerve pacifique,' out of which the Farnese, Hope, Albani, and Velletri statues are developed! It is difficult to see why he does not at once develop all Athene statues quite simply out of one type.

In one point—and it is the only one—M. Jamot is correct; it is not expressly stated that the Lemnia of Pheidias was helmetless: we infer it from a combination (which however is extremely probable) of two statements. From Lucian we know the exceeding beauty of the Lemnia's face; the entire outline (evidently therefore not interrupted by an Attic helmet) is selected by him for his paragon of beauty, Himerius on the other hand tells us of an Athene by Pheidias which was characterized by its beauty of face and by the absence of helmet, but which otherwise is not more closely specified. Since, then, we may conclude from Lucian that the Lemnia among the late school of rhetoricians was regarded as the famous example of an Athene of Pheidias distinguished for her beauty, it follows that the identification of the Athene of Himerius with the Lemnia is even more than probable. In any case it is merely arbitrary in M. Jamot to prefer a helmeted, rather than a helmetless, Lemnia. Even admitting that the absence of the helmet is not directly stated, it is nevertheless extremely probable, in the light of the literary traditions on this point. And to this must be added the monumental evidence, in which we are shown by means of replicas the existence of a famous helmetless Athene of Pheidias style. The identification of this

<sup>1</sup> Badly reproduced La Borde, *Vases Lamborg*, i. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Omitted in the reproduction.

<sup>3</sup> Brunn in his *Catalogue* wrongly doubts the antiquity of the reliefs 39a-c; they are absolutely authentic.

with the Lemnia of Pheidias is, and must remain, a combination; but, in my opinion, it is one of most extreme probability. The Apoxyomenos of Lysippos, the Doryphoros of Polykleitos, the Marsyas of Myron and other corner-stones of the history of art are also—such is the unfortunate condition of our material—known to us only from combinations.

(ii.) Miss Jane E. Harrison (*C.R. ante*, p. 85 foll.) sits severely in judgment on my explanation of the Parthenon sculptures. She asserts that mythology is my weak point; she wields the rod like a strict taskmaster, and deals me out censure such as 'nonsense' and 'confusion.' One would expect from this that she would produce, if not an entirely new interpretation of the Parthenon sculptures of her own, at least a complete refutation of mine. Instead of this, she adopts my ideas *en bloc*, and only in a few details differs from me. I am delighted that Miss Harrison in reality takes up my position, and I do not give up all hope that, in spite of the severity she assumes, she may even in respect to these details yet be convinced.

Her first point is, that the ephebus of the left half of the west pediment is not Erysichthon but Erichthonios, and that the woman beside Kekrops is not one of his three daughters but his wife. I cannot really see that this is any improvement on my interpretation; it serves to obscure the clearly intelligible scheme of a simple human relationship of the whole, which I claim to see there. According to my scheme we have on the one hand, beside Poseidon, Erechtheus with his three daughters; on the other, corresponding to it, beside Athene, Kekrops with his family. On this cardinal point Miss Harrison thoroughly agrees with me; it follows however then as a simple consequence that the band of three daughters of Erechtheus corresponds to that of the Aglaurides, the Ἀγλαῦλον κόραι τρίγονοι.<sup>1</sup> The three female figures in the pediment beside Kekrops are represented in quite a homogeneous manner; they all press equally towards Kekrops; they are then beings of a similar nature,—his daughters. Stirred by the same movement is also the ephebus (cf. *Germ.* p. 234; *Eng.* p. 458); he too belongs to the family group: he is the brother, the Erysichthon who died in his youth. Miss Harrison is wholly wrong in separating

the two maidens, and in her assertion that they are concerned with the ephebus. The four figures are rather all alike in violent movement, seized with terror at what is taking place in the centre, and press forward to Kekrops as their protector, their father.

Not only from the standpoint of pure art criticism, but also from the mythological point of view on which she takes her stand, Miss Harrison's interpretation may be confuted. That Erichthonios as well as Erechtheus was represented in the pediment, is in itself scarcely probable, on account of the original identity of these two personages, too clearly marked for such a juxtaposition. Moreover Erichthonios is only a figure of the legend without any cult of his own (*Germ.* p. 200; *Eng.* p. 436). If however, as Miss Harrison thinks, he was represented with the daughters of Kekrops as their ward, he could only be represented as a little child; for it was only as a child, nay more, as a child concealed in a basket, that these maidens had him to watch over; when however they opened the basket,—as is clear from the legend which we know was already prevalent in the Parthenon period,—they found their doom. The artist therefore could certainly never have united Erichthonios as an ephebus with the daughters of Kekrops, without setting himself in opposition to the legend, and rendering himself consequently unintelligible. On the other hand, every Athenian must have easily recognized in that figure the young brother of the three maidens, Erysichthon. Miss Harrison indeed will have nothing to do with him. She has read an article by Zielinski from which she concludes that Erysichthon is in reality nothing else than Poseidon Halirothios, and therefore that he cannot be present on the side of Athena. Miss Harrison here forgets entirely that we are not in the least concerned with what our mythologists regard as the original element in the personage of Erysichthon (and for that reason I had no cause to quote Zielinski's work); we are only concerned with what the artist and his contemporaries thought of him. And in order to discover what this was, Miss Harrison will pardon me if I hold by what Plato and the Attidographi tell us, rather than by her conjectures and those of other mythologists. Those writers at any rate only know of a genuinely old Attic local hero Erysichthon, who is named beside Kekrops and Erechtheus; Phanodemos in particular seems to have left a more detailed account of him and his journey to Delos.

<sup>1</sup> Kekrops with his daughters (not his wife) occurs also on the tapestry described in Euripides *Ion* 1163, which was a dedication by an Athenian.



He was also mentioned by some in the legend of the contest about the land, as a judge with Kekrops and Kranaos. The extremely probable supposition that he was originally a strange element attached to the Kekrops family (cf. Crusius in Roscher's *Lexicon* i. 1383) is a matter of total indifference to us, since our inquiry only deals with such beliefs as flourished in Athens in the classical period and were embodied in her art. We are even willing to grant that Erysichthon, as Zielinski says, 'belongs to the same category as the Attic kings Erechtheus and Aigeus, who are hypostaseis of Poseidon.' But this does not concern us here at all; to the Athenians, Erysichthon was just a child of Kekrops; here, and not on the side of Poseidon, in spite of all primary relation with that god, is his place; moreover, Attic belief knows absolutely nothing Poseidonian of him; though, it is true, it embodied, as is well known, the close relationship of Athens to Delos. Possibly Miss Harrison has also been led astray by the remark of Zielinski that Erysichthon in the contest for the land voted for Poseidon. This is however nowhere recorded; Zielinski cites as authority for this Robert, *Hermes* 16, p. 76; but Robert suggests it merely as a version underlying Varro's account; the suggestion is quite improbable, and, even if it were true, it would be, like the entire version of the legend which brings in the trial and verdict episode, a version strange to, and later than, the pediment.

In other respects also Miss Harrison seems to consider it more important to the interpretation of the pediment to devote herself to fancies about the first beginnings of Attic religion, rather than to ascertain the beliefs which existed at the time of the artist. In her passage dealing with the East pediment we learn that the Moirae also signify heaven, earth, and sea; similarly the *Μοῖραι* really are *μῦραι*, i.e. olive-trees;—ought we here to add the words of which Miss Harrison is so fond, 'mythological confusion,' or just 'nonsense'?

Miss Harrison regrets that the translator of my book had not found time to refer to the reconstruction of the central group of the E. pediment given by J. Six in the *Jahrbuch* of 1894. I think it is a pity that Miss Harrison herself did not find time to examine the translation (the style of which she criticizes so severely at the commencement of her article) a little further; she would have found that in the part where

the group of the E. pediment is in question, (*Eng.* p. 463, note 8) express mention is made of Six' article, which by the bye adds nothing new.

The so-called Theseus, for which I suggested the name of Kephalos, is now explained by Miss Harrison as Pan. The interpretation is new; this is however the best that can be said for it, for it is downright bad. She thinks Kephalos does not suit the scheme which I myself suggested, of a cosmic character attaching to the angle figures of the E. pediment. Here she is mistaken; in any case 'Gottheiten von nur lokal Attischer Bedeutung, die an einen bestimmten Ort (des attischen Bodens) gebunden sind' (*Germ.* p. 245; *Eng.* p. 466) have no business to come into the question. But it is precisely Kephalos who is carried off by Eos to the place whence Helios springs forth, the far Okeanos. To Athenian ideas, Kephalos was closely bound up with the sunrise. On the other hand, what business has Pan, the dweller in rock and grotto, the goat-formed leaper and dancer, in this select Olympian society? Miss Harrison moreover entirely forgets that in the fifth century at Athens Pan was never represented but with a beard and goat's legs. The beardless human type of Pan arose in all probability in Peloponnesian art.<sup>1</sup> The actual condition however of the so-called Theseus is quite conclusive against her view; he has two things which Pan never had, and which are directly contrary to the being of this child of nature, i.e. a mantle (which is spread over the fell) and footgear (of which traces are preserved). And moreover the statue is wanting in something which Pan is never without, even in his youthful human type, i.e. horns. Miss Harrison suspected at any rate that here lay a difficulty; but with a readiness of belief which is refreshing she settles the matter summarily thus: 'I do not believe that they (the horns) are essential to the god.' That she is bound to adduce undoubted examples if her view is to be taken as scientifically grounded, does not at all occur to her. She has moreover neglected to inform herself of the literature of the question; I would refer her to *Satyr von Pergamon*, p. 27, note i., where I have emphasized the fact that even the noble, beardless type of Pan is never represented without horns.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Furtwängler, *Satyr von Pergamon*, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> As regards the type of the coins of Panticapaeum there discussed, I add that it is evidently borrowed from the Cyzicene type (*Num. Chron.* 1887, Pl. 2, 18)

Miss Harrison's third point concerns the centre of the east side of the Parthenon frieze: she declares herself decidedly against the old interpretation (which I maintain) of the presentation of the peplos. Her arguments are as follows; the central point of the frieze is represented, not by the group in question, but by the priestess. As a matter of fact, no one has spoken of a 'central point' in this sense: the whole scene however between the seated deities takes place 'in the centre of the whole composition, over the most central intercolumniation and over the door'... (*Germ.* p. 184; *Eng.* p. 427); it falls into two halves, the reception of the diphros by the priestess, balanced by the reception of the folded drapery by the priestly personage. The scene is unsymmetrical for this reason, that whereas there are several diphroi introduced, there is only the single piece of folded drapery. In the light of the peplos-theory this explanation adapts itself in the most satisfactory manner. Miss Harrison further objects that in this case it would be a boy bringing the peplos to a man, whereas it would be more suitable for a girl to be bringing it to the priestess. We have no record as to the manner in which the peplos was brought into the temple; in any case it was prepared by maidens, but was introduced into the procession as a sail on the ship, and this duty could scarcely be performed by maidens; and then we know that in similar cases of festal presentation in Greek cultus it was customary to employ *παῖδες ἀμφιθαλεῖς*. This objection therefore of Miss Harrison's is not a justifiable one. She further objects that Athena actually turns her back on the supposed offering of the peplos: but the scene is taking place in the interior of the temple, separated from the deities who are turned towards the procession: and is not the group with the folded drapery represented on the side nearest Athene, for the very reason that it is intimately connected with her, i.e. that it does actually represent the presentation of the peplos?

My explanation of the presentation of the seats is accepted fully by Miss Harrison. On the other hand she exaggerates and distorts my suggestion that a 'national Hellenic significance' suits the company of the twelve invited gods, because for this where it certainly represents not Pan, but a Satyr. The art of Panticapaeum was certainly in other respects also strongly influenced by Cyzicus. Fine examples of the noble, beardless, horned head of Pan occur on Lycian coins (*Fellows*, Pl. 6, 1-4, 9), on Cyzicene coins (*Num. Chron.* 1887, Pl. 1, 25-26—not Actaeon!), and on the bronze coinage of Pella.

very reason she condemns the theory of the presentation of the peplos as too local a function. This would however mean divesting the procession represented of all individuality, whereas it is just the balance of the peplos-scene concerning Athene alone, and the other scene concerned with the theoxenia of the twelve gods, which seems to me a fine touch in the composition (*Germ.* p. 191; *Eng.* p. 431).

Miss Harrison fully agrees with Ernst Curtius' suggestion<sup>1</sup> as regards the explanation of the folded drapery, viz. that it is a carpet which must be spread before the seats of the gods (in regard to the seats, Curtius also follows my explanation). This suggestion from an authority worthy of all respect was well known to me when I was editing the alterations for the English edition of my book: but full consideration led me to the conclusion that it was untenable. Since Miss Harrison challenges me directly on this point, I must here briefly state my reasons. One principal objection I have already raised in the English edition, p. 430 note 9, viz. that in the inscription from Magnesia on which Curtius relies, I, like O. Kern (*Arch. Anzeiger*, 1894, p. 80) understand the *στρωμνῶν* as Lectisternia, not, as Curtius takes them, as carpets. This rendering I must still consider as the only correct one. The word *στρωμνῆ* in every passage of Greek literature which with the help of the lexicons I have been able to compare, signifies a couch, never a carpet. It is therefore quite unwarrantable to interpret the three *στρωμνῶν* of the Magnesia inscription, which are to be brought near the altar of the twelve gods, as carpets: they are couches, *strati lecti* for the gods, according to the well-known cultus usage of the Lectisternia. An exactly similar case is offered by the *στιβάδες* of the inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> The explanation of the *στρωμνῶν* as carpets moreover is not only incorrect as an expression but also as a fact, for the use of carpets as floor covering is in principle un-Greek. Since however this point is not clearly stated in the handbooks of antiquities nor yet in the monograph on ancient carpets by de Ronchaud, *Le péplos d'Athénê* (*Rev. Arch.* 23, 245), it is worth while to consider it for a moment. Carpets for floors are only properly indigenous in countries where the custom obtains of sitting or reclining on

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Anzeiger* 1894, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> Especially clear is this in *Inscr. ins. maris Aegaei* i. 786, for *τὰς στιβάδας κοσμεῖν* can only be said of couches; ἐν τῷ βαμῶν i.e. near, before the altar.

the ground; they have no place in Greek or Roman culture, nor has any reference to them come down to us. The floors were often decorated with painted stucco or with mosaic; but this decoration has nothing to do with carpets. There was in antiquity a widespread use of them for seats and couches of every kind, stools, klinai, saddles, and further for hangings and portières, and for coverings of walls and even of ceilings; but not for floors. The temples must certainly have had their store of dedicated draperies (ἱεράσματα ἱερὰ and πέπλοι, as they are termed in Eurip. *Ion* 1141, 1143). They are doubtless, as precious possessions, stored up in chests (*ibid.* 1141, λαβών... θησανῶν πάρα) and were hung up at festivals. In the play *Ion* decorates with them a tent intended for banquet and festival; he hangs them, richly decorated with figures, from the ceiling and walls:<sup>1</sup> no mention is made of the floor. No doubt the famous peplos of Athene was decorated with figures like these πέπλοι out of the treasury of Apollo, and was a valuable votive offering and possession of the goddess, but no real clothing for her. In Homer it is usual to find soft coverings and cushions spread on the arm-chair as a seat for the honoured guest:<sup>2</sup> under his feet the footstool is placed (ὑπὸ δὲ θρόνου ποσσὶν ἔνι). Among the rich Persian gifts which Athenaeus ii. p. 48 d, f, describes, we find costly coverings for couches, but no foot carpets.<sup>3</sup> In the gala tent of Ptolemy II. which Callixenos (in Athenaeus v. p. 197a) describes in such detail, the klinai are richly spread with rugs, and also the intermediate spaces between the legs of the couches are draped with Persian stuffs hung vertically over them; here also then no floor covering appears. Couches (κλισίαι) spread with very rich στρώματα that covered them, hanging nearly to the ground (χαμᾶζε), had been represented by Hippys in his picture of Peirithoös' wedding (Athen. xi. p. 474 d).<sup>4</sup> In Xenophon *Cyropaed.* 8, 8, 16 it is noted as a mark of specially Persian effeminacy that in that country

the feet of the klinai are occasionally set upon δαπίδες, ὅπως μὴ ἀντερείδῃ τὸ δάπεδον: even this does not imply an actual floor carpet. It is moreover quite a different matter when, on the occasion of an entry in state, the ground over which the personage to be honoured walks is spread with drapery, as a sign of the highest honour. This is done by the Clytemnestra of Aeschylus at the home coming of Agamemnon, just as the Jews did at the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem: as the Jews spread their garments in the way (ἐστρώσαν ἑαυτῶν τὰ ἱμάτια ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ), so Clytemnestra, to whom Agamemnon says, μὴδ' εἰμασι στρώσας' ἐπιφθονον πόρον τίθει; he resists this honour as too high and as one only suitable for gods (Aesch. *Ag.* 922): that is to say, if gods were in his position and came to earth, and wished to be received in state, then he would consider such an honour to be seemly: but he is afraid to soil with his feet the fine and costly robes (l. 948 πολλὰ γὰρ αἰδῶς εἰματοφθορεῖν ποσσίν...). We see here that the notion of floor carpet is altogether absent. A preliminary spreading of the ground with drapery, for the person passing over it, is the height of honour. Since then the deities at the theoxenia are to be imagined not as passing by, but as sitting or reclining and taking part in the festival, there is no occasion to cover the ground for the purposes of this function. Curtius (*loc. cit.*), doubtless bearing in mind this passage in the *Agamemnon*, says 'purple carpets were used to cover the ground which the feet of the deities would touch': I cannot find this anywhere attested.

To return now to the frieze: granted that the folded drapery refers, like the dipproi, to the Theoxenia, it could only be intended to be spread over a kline; only with this modification does Curtius' idea admit of discussion. Can the scene really represent this? If so, the principal object, the kline, would be wanting and would not be in any way indicated: the whole thing would be simply unintelligible. Moreover, the introduction of the dipproi excludes the possibility of a kline: the gods are invited to sit, not to recline. Besides, the interpretation must before all things be suitable to the motive represented: the dipproi are brought by the procession which has reached its goal; the same applies to the folded drapery in the corresponding scene: it is brought, and has evidently come with the procession, like the peplos. The priestly personage raises it to view, and tests its quality, a fact which in itself shows the

<sup>1</sup> The Andania inscription (Dittenberger, *Syll.* 388, 35) forbids this decoration of the tents, probably as too luxurious.

<sup>2</sup> De Ronchaud, *Rev. Arch.* 23, 249 gives an explanation which is evidently incorrect of the passages *Odyssey* 4, 124; 1, 130.

<sup>3</sup> With the στρώματα a special attendant is sent to ὑποστρωννύειν, which process the Hellenes cannot perform in the Persian manner: evidently therefore it is the preparation of the couch and not of the floor which is in question.

<sup>4</sup> Brunn, *Gesch. d. Künstler* ii. 258, and Wickhoff, *Wiener Genesis* § 51 give an entirely wrong interpretation of the passage, as referring to carpets.

importance of the object brought. Curtius says it is 'a carpet given out'; but of this absolutely nothing is to be seen. Again, the folded drapery with its soft folds, its embroidered edge, characteristic of woollen peploi and himatia, and its evident size shown in the numerous folds, corresponds perfectly to the notion of the peplos of Athene, but not to that of a carpet; what is here represented is an article of dress of excessive size, just in fact what the peplos was.

In short, everything brings me once more back to the old interpretation of the peplos as the only one possible—and the only natural one. For why in the world should the one characteristic, principal fact, which distinguishes the Panathenaic from all other processions, the presentation of the peplos, be in no way indicated? and why should there be in the middle of the frieze objects suggested which are only accessory and insignificant, while every evidence of what is actually represented, and the most perfect suitability from an antiquarian as well as an artistic point of view unite in favour of the explanation of the peplos?

Miss Harrison makes some further remarks about the Erechtheion. I cannot indeed go into her fancies about the wooden Hermes in the Polias temple, which she takes to represent Zeus Soter but at the same time Kekrops; but must confine myself to her assertions about the Kekropion. I am grateful to her for her good intention of wishing to instruct me, by means of an excursus borrowed from some grammar or other, as to the general use of *πρός* with the genitive or dative; but in my opinion she would have done better if, in following my argument, she had examined more fully the usage in the inscription referred to. She would have found that whenever a part of the building is there indicated by reference to a locality lying without it, *πρός* with the genitive is employed: so that, if the Kekropion lay outside the building, as Miss Harrison thinks, we should have *πρόστασις ἢ πρὸς τοῦ Κεκροπίου*. Since the porch of the Caryatidae is invariably denoted as *πρός*

*τῷ Κεκροπίῳ*, I concluded that this stood 'am Kekropion,' attached to it, and therefore behind it, and that it was (as for other reasons we may conclude from the inscription) a part of the building.

Lastly, Miss Harrison agrees wholly with Dörpfeld's idea, who places the sacred lamp and the xoanon in the 'old temple' which, according to him, had been left standing. This bold theory, with which I have long been acquainted, thanks to a friendly communication from Dörpfeld, I have often thoroughly weighed, and am obliged to consider it wholly untenable. But that is neither here nor there. As to Miss Harrison, I would remark that in terming Kallimachos an 'archaic artist' she has not a vestige of confirmation. It is well, even in reference to Dörpfeld's hypothesis, to make it clear that the date of Kallimachos is so far fixed that we are justified in asserting that he cannot have flourished before the period of the Peloponnesian War. The Corinthian form of capital, of which the invention is ascribed to him, can at any rate not have been created before the time of that war (cf. *Germ.* p. 201, note 1; *Eng.* p. 437, note 4 and cf. Ussing in *Bull. de l'Acad. de Danemark* 1894); and the Hera of Plataea cannot certainly be placed before the building of the temple (about 425 B.C.); and lastly, the relief which bears his name, and which must be considered as the copy of a work, if not by him, at least of his style, is of pronounced archaistic style; i.e. it shows an admixture of quite late elements with a superficial imitation of the archaic. The rhetorical comparison between Kallimachos and Kalamis in Dionys. Halic. refers only to the individual qualities of *λεπτότης* and *χάρης*, and is not the least evidence of their being contemporary. Lastly, all this evidence is in keeping with the lamp in the Polias temple, which would suit that date admirably if it was made for the new building, the Erechtheion. We possess so few certain dates in the history of Greek art, that we cannot afford to allow the few we have to be lightly snatched away from us.

A. FURTWÄNGLER.



## THE MYTH OF IXION



FIG. a.

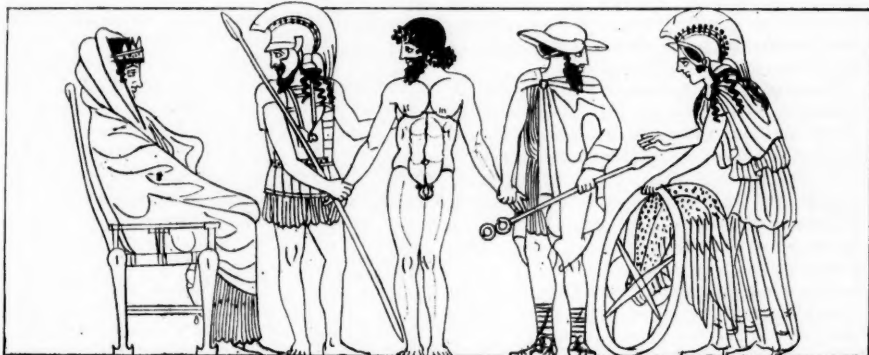


FIG. b.

THERE is in the British Museum a red-figure cantharos of the best period (E 155 in the new Catalogue) which has long been popular as offering an unsolved problem of interpretation.<sup>1</sup> The subject represented on one of the two sides (*b*) presents very little difficulty, and has been accepted by the more recent of the numerous commentators with practical unanimity as the punishment of Ixion. In this scene the culprit stands before the throne of Hera on the left, his arms held fast on either side by Ares and Hermes respectively; on the right Athene stands ready with the winged wheel. The scene on the other side (*a*) is much more uncertain. In the centre is an altar, upon

which a bearded figure kneels with left knee, holding up a sword; a large snake, coiled round his waist, bites him in the shoulder; but without apparently experiencing any physical inconvenience from this detail, he looks to left, where a youth falls dead, with a wound in the left breast, and is received into the arms of a winged bearded figure who bends over him. On the right is a tree, apparently a laurel, beside which a bearded wreathed figure in a himation, with a long staff or sceptre, runs forward towards the central scene, brandishing a stone as if to hurl it at the man on the altar.

The older interpreters, Raoul-Rochette and Panofka, saw in this subject the murder of Neoptolemos by Orestes, and explained (*b*) as Orestes before Iphigeneia or Justice. These opinions are in the method of a bygone day; they have been sufficient-

<sup>1</sup> The cuts given above are from new tracings made by Mr. Anderson. Unfortunately, by an error in reduction, the two scenes are made to vary in height: though varying in length, they should of course be the same height.

ly refuted, and need not concern us here: the only advantage they offered was that of suggesting a connection between the subjects of obverse and reverse, which in itself is more likely than not to be found in vases of this class. In *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, p. 189, Klein proposed a new and startling explanation: he identified the figure on the altar as Laocoön, the dead youth and the wreathed figure as the son and brother respectively of Laocoön, the subject thus being connected with the *Laocoön* of Sophocles. Robert (*Bild und Lied*, p. 210) shows clearly that this interpretation is impossible, but fails to find any new interpretation to take its place.

In offering one more solution of the problem, I feel considerable diffidence before the many high authorities who are already in the field: the more so as this solution seems extremely simple and obvious; possibly for this very reason it has hitherto been overlooked; the element of simplicity is at any rate not in its disfavour.

Returning for a moment to (b), we see that the central figure is a bearded nude figure of somewhat rough aspect. It can hardly be a mere coincidence that precisely the same figure is repeated in the centre of (a). If in (b) this figure is undoubtedly Ixion, we are naturally led to consider whether there is any myth connected with Ixion which will suit the other side also.<sup>1</sup>

The winged figure on the left is quite certainly Thanatos, who receives the body of the slain youth, the two figures forming a group clearly connected with the typical Hypnos-Thanatos scenes of prothesis on the white lekythi. It is almost equally clear (with all respect to Klein's ingenious suggestion) that this youth has been slain by the figure whom we may call Ixion, and slain with the sword<sup>2</sup> which Ixion holds prominently forward, as if the artist wished to emphasize it as the *pièce justificative*; also that Ixion has taken refuge on the altar as a suppliant in consequence of the crime. The remaining portion of the scene seems to me to show that his supplication is unavailing; the priest of the God (probably, as his laurel wreath and the laurel tree show, the priest of Apollo) hastens through the sacred grove

with a missile uplifted to drive away the bloodguilty stranger.

Turning now to the literary sources, we find that these give us precisely the evidence we need of a myth which would suit this scene; it is alluded to in several of the literary mentions of Ixion (see list in Roscher, s. v. *Ixion*). These accounts vary considerably, but in one point they mostly agree, that, as a mortal, Ixion had committed a grievous crime, that of slaying a kinsman: *Scholion* to Apoll. Rhodius, *Arg.* 3, 62: *πρῶτος γὰρ ἐμφύλιον ἄνδρα ἀπέκτεινεν*: he was in fact a kind of Hellenic Cain. For this crime, according to the same author, he was smitten with madness, *καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτὸν ἤθελεν ἀγνίσαι οὔτε θεῶν οὔτε ἀνθρώπων*. But Zeus took pity on him and purified him, and this clemency he repaid by insulting Hera. After this second crime he is treated as incorrigible (*ἀκόλαστος Schol.* Lucian *d. d.* 6) and condemned to the wheel.

It is fairly obvious that this version is patchwork: that the Olympicizing of the story was due to a probably later *contaminatio*. On the face of it, it seems more probable that the first crime—which was not mere murder, but the slaying of a kinsman, and therefore transgression against the tribal law, the ethics of a primitive state of society—is more likely to be the early portion of the myth than that which presupposes a fully developed Olympus. However this may be, the murder of the *ἐμφύλιος ἀνὴρ* by Ixion was clearly regarded in antiquity as a count against him of quite as much gravity as the attempted violence to Hera.

The later literary versions naturally assign a predominance to the Hera episode; but I think there is good reason to suppose that in the fifth century, to which this vase belongs, the first crime was regarded as of no less importance than the second. In any case, in the literary versions I think we can trace a sense of the obvious antithesis, a combination and contrast of the crime committed, on the one hand against the deity, on the other against a fellow man: the one transgressing the most sacred law of hospitality and gratitude to the highest of the gods, the other a vital safeguard of early society. Cf. Pindar *Pyth.* ii. 30

αἱ δύο δ' ἀμπλακία  
φερέποναι τελέθοντι· τὸ μὲν ἥρως ὅτι  
ἐμφύλιον αἶμα πρόωιτος οὐκ ἄτερ τέχνας ἐπέ-  
μιξε θνατοῖς·  
ὅτι τε μεγαλοκευθέσσω ἐν ποτε θαλάμοις  
Διὸς ἄκοιτιν ἐπειράτο.

<sup>1</sup> Since writing this, I see that Robert, *Bild und Lied*, p. 211, has noticed the same similarity: '...dem wirren Haar und dem struppigen Bart, dem wilden und trotzigem Aussehen, das so auffällig an den verbrecherischen Ixion der Rückseite erinnert.' He also points out that the figure on the right of a looks more like a priest.

<sup>2</sup> From a similar motive Orestes, seated in supplication at the omphalos, is represented holding up a sword: see Baumeister, p. 1117, fig. 1314.

The same antithesis seems to be intended in the two scenes on our vase.

Viewed in this light, the altar scene seems to work out satisfactorily. The artist here, as often in vase-pictures, presents in one scene three successive moments of the same story. On the left we have in the Thanatos group the crime itself already committed: in the centre the criminal Ixion (his part in it shown by the sword) smitten, as perhaps his wild appearance shows, with madness, taking refuge as a suppliant at the altar of Apollo; and on the right the further consequence; Apollo, the σωτήρ and καθάρσιος of Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, the natural purifier of such a crime, in the person of his priest drives him away: for 'no one either of gods or men is willing to purge him of his sin.'

There naturally comes to mind the parallel case of Orestes at the Delphian altar; and in selecting his art type for the central scene, the artist seems also to have had this association of ideas in view, and has merely adapted the well-known figure of Orestes to his purpose. From the Orestes scene we miss the presence of the Erinyes here; but in place of the Erinyes of human form we have the avenger from the underworld in the form of the snake, who is practically, as Miss Harrison suggests to me, an incarnation of the dead ἥψος,<sup>1</sup> and who is already making the culprit to feel the vengeance as it were of remorse. In the *Eumenides* the ghost of Clytemnestra can summon the Erinyes; here the incarnation and Erinyes of the dead figure are one. Possibly a trace of the same idea survives in the later version of the legend (as e.g. in the vase-painting from Cumae, Baumeister, p. 767, fig. 821; and Vergil *Georg.* iii. 38 *tortos Ixionis angues*). These snakes wound round his body have usually been taken as fastening Ixion to the wheel, but in the Cumae vase this point does not seem clear; at any rate two of them there seem to bite him, just as on our vase, in the base of the neck.

I am fully sensible of the difficulties of this interpretation of the snake, and cannot point to an exact parallel to the occurrence of a snake as a shortened form, so to say, of the Erinyes. Perhaps the nearest analogy is offered by the vase published in *Jahrbuch* 1893, pl. 1; here Neoptolemos has killed Polyxena at the grave of Achilles, and flees away looking back at a large snake which

advances, as if to attack him, from behind the dead body of Polyxena. Hauser in publishing the vase explains the snake (p. 98 *ibid.*) as the *Grabesschlange*, the guardian of the grave which is often found in this connection: it is however just possible that it may represent the Erinyes of Polyxena, and hence its threatening attitude.

Rohde has shown (*Psyche*, p. 247; *Rhein. Mus.* 1895, p. 6) that the Erinyes of a murdered person was 'nothing else than the angry soul of that person, itself seeking its own vengeance': and it would not be unnatural to find the Erinyes occasionally, especially in early art, taking the form of the particular chthonian animal which serves later as its regular attribute. So far we have no instance of the normal type of Erinyes on black-figure vases: but throughout all the history of this type in later art, the snake remains the important feature associated with it. Even if Pausanias is correct in his statement (i. 28, 6) that it was Aeschylus who first added the snake locks, that fact in itself shows that in the first half of the fifth century (or very shortly before the date to which our vase belongs) the type in art of the avenging Erinyes was not yet fixed. On a vase from S. Italy (Millin, *Mon. Ined.* i. 29) the theatrical type is shown with a large snake, not held in the hand, but wound around the body, with its head arching over the shoulder of the Erinyes, much as it does over Ixion on our vase.

If this interpretation of the snake be accepted, we gain additional light on the artistic treatment of the subject. In the centre we have the punishment already beginning, the Erinyes in her function of Μῆτις (Rohde, *Rhein. Mus.* 1895, p. 19, note 2) maddening with her bite the culprit (the madness of Ixion being a feature in the literary accounts), and his supplication; and on the right the further consequence of the crime, the object of supplication (*i.e.* his purification) refused.

The central episode then of this part of the story is the *supplication* of Ixion; and so it appears to be on the vase. In this connection it is worth noting that in the Aeschylean dramas Ixion was the typical suppliant: thus in *Eumenides* l. 440 Athene speaks of Orestes as a σεινὸς προσέκτωρ ἐν τρώπῳ Ἰξίονος; cf. also *ibid.* l. 710 *πρωτοκτόνοισι προστοπαῖς Ἰξίονος*; clearly showing what is an additional point of connection between the two cases, and which is still further alluded to in l. 718, and must have been in

<sup>1</sup> At first sight the snake seems to suggest the Pythian serpent; but the animal which becomes later the ministrant of Apollo has primarily an underworld function.

the minds of the spectators throughout, if we may judge from the allusions in the play to the contrast between them: Orestes, having been inspired by Apollo, is *σεμνός*: Ixion has no such divine inspiration; hence the emphatic assertion of this point in the action of the priest of Apollo on our vase. It may be a mere coincidence, but it is worth recording, that one of the few fragments which have survived of the lost *Ixion* of Aeschylus has perhaps a reference to the same thing: Hesychius s.v. 'Ιερῆτιν' καθάρμουν δεομένην, ἱκετιν. Διοχύλος 'Ιξίονι.

A weak point in the above interpretation is clearly the identification of the *ἐμφύλιος ἀνὴρ*, who on the vase is represented as a beardless youth: whereas the two scholiasts (to Apoll. Rhod. and Lucian), who are the sole authorities for any such identification, agree in making him the father of Ixion's wife, though even they disagree about the name. Pindar makes no mention of any name. This does not seem a very serious difficulty, especially when we notice that no less than six names are variously assigned to the father of Ixion; the whole episode of the *πειθερός* and the fiery pit dugged for him seems to point to later addition: and on the other hand we have one reference at least to the existence of an earlier legend of a murder by Ixion. Among the subjects of the pictures on the columns of the Cyzicene temple noted in *Anth. Pal.* iii. the twelfth represented Ixion slaying Phorbas and Polymelos, who had killed his mother Megara: the mention of Phorbas brings us again into the complicated range of Thessalian legends which supplied so many of the names familiar on Attic vases of the fifth century. Probably our vase represents an Atticized version of one of these legends. According to Attic legend, Ixion was the father of Peirithoös, and the myth of both father and son was localized in Thessaly as well as in Attica. Like his father, Peirithoös had slain a kinsman, and this is named as the reason for his wandering from Thessaly to Athens. In the *Scholion* to Hesiod's *Shield*, l. 178, we have Πειρίθοος εἰς (Ἀθήνας) ἔλθων διὰ τινὰ συγγενικὸν φόνον, ὥστε καθαρθῆναι. It looks as if in the process of transplantation to Attic soil some of the elements of a primitive myth had shifted their position. One thing however seems to me certain, that down at any rate to the fifth century the *συγγενικὸς φόνος* was the important element in the story of Ixion (cf. Töpffer in *Aus der Anomia*, p. 32).

The myth of Ixion seems to have been

very popular in the fifth century in Athens. Aeschylus, Euripides, and Timasitheus all wrote tragedies on this subject, but unfortunately very little of any one of them has survived. Euripides seems to have introduced into the character something of the Protagoras skilled in the arts of the sophist, developing possibly the same idea as is expressed in Pindar's *οὐκ ἄτερ τέχνης*. But, as far as can be judged, the balance of the two crimes was even in his version still preserved: it was only later on that the Olympian element outgrew and partly obscured the other. If we are to connect the vase-pictures with any of the dramas, the one that would best suit both date and subject is undoubtedly that of Aeschylus; but the slightness of the evidence forbids more than a bare suggestion. It would seem at any rate that the version which our artist had in view is suitable to the Aeschylean treatment; we even have the leading theme of our fig. a clearly set forth in a fragment which is usually assigned to the *Ixion* of Aeschylus

πρὶν ἂν παλαμοῖς αἵματος χοιροκτόνου  
αὐτὸς σε χράναι Ζεὺς καταστάξας χερσὶν

(Eustath. *ad Il.* p. 1183, 18). It is the eternal law of the *δράσαντι παθεῖν*, and the aftermath of crime which is so clearly expressed in the *Choephoroe* l. 323 foll.

τέκνον, φρόνημα τοῦ θανόντος οὐ δαμάξει  
πυρὸς μαλερὰ γνάθος,  
φαίνει δ' ὕστερον ὄργας·  
ὅσοιτύζεται δ' ὁ θνήσκων ἀναφαίνεται δ' ὁ  
βλάπτων.

CECIL SMITH.

#### NIKE AND ATHENA NIKE.

MISS HARRISON, in her review of M. Baudrillart's monograph on the goddess of Victory,<sup>1</sup> accepts without comment his assumption that Nike was originally an abstraction from Athena. In her own book the same theory had been already stated. 'Originally Nike (Victory) is only an attribute of Athene. Athene gives all things—good counsel (Boulaia), skill in handicraft (Ergane), and victory (Nike). Now some of these attributes of the goddess, being especially popular, separate off and become almost distinct individualities.

<sup>1</sup> *Les Divinités de la Victoire en Grèce et en Italie*: André Baudrillart. Paris, 1894. Reviewed by Miss Harrison in the *Classical Review*, April 1895.



From Athene Polias, invoked as Athene Polias Nike, the personality of Nike separated off and developed attributes of her own, impossible when she was only a form of Athene.<sup>1</sup>

M. Baudrillart<sup>2</sup> gives his views on the development of Nike as follows. The goddess is unknown to Homer, and her name first occurs in Hesiod,<sup>3</sup> who mentions her as the daughter of Styx and the giant Pallas, sister of Zelos, Kratos, and Bia. Styx and her family took part with Zeus in his rebellion against Kronos; and Nike, with the other children of Styx, obtained as her reward the privilege of living always with Zeus. Here her history stops; to this simple Hesiodean conception there succeeded, at a time difficult to fix, the complex and confused idea of Athena Nike. But towards the beginning of the fifth century, Nike began to be detached from Athena, and to win an independent personality, although the old Athena Nike still continued to exist.<sup>4</sup>

This theory was, I believe, unknown to the older mythologists, such as Preller,<sup>5</sup> according to whom Nike, from Hesiod downwards, had always a continuous existence as an independent deity, although she was also confused with Athena, at Athens and in some other places, so that Athena Nike existed side by side with Nike herself.

With regard to the Hesiodean Nike, there can be no doubt that she must have experienced a complete regeneration before she re-appeared in literature at the beginning of the fifth century. We first meet with her again in Pindar and Bacchylides. And in what connexion does the goddess then present herself? She is not the giver of victory in war, but of success in gymnastic and musical contests. Cf. Pind. *Nem.* 5, 42 Νίκας ἐν ἀγώνεσσιν πίντων. *Isthm.* 2, 26 χρυσέας ἐν γούνασι πίντων Νίκας. Bacchyl. *Anth. Pal.* 6, 313 κοῦρα Πάλλαντος πολυώνυμε πότνια Νίκη, πρόφρων Κραναιδῶν ἱμεροέντα χορὸν αἰὲν ἐποπτεύουσ πόλεως δ' ἐν ἀθύρμασι Μουσῶν Κρήν ἀμφιτίθει Βαχκυλίδη στεφάνους.

Monumental evidence points in the same direction. Nike appears frequently on the coins of various cities from 500 B.C., in Greek proper (Elis), Sicily (Camarina,

Catana, Gela, Himera, Leontini, Messana, and Syracuse), and Italy (Terina). In an important article,<sup>6</sup> which seems to be unknown to M. Baudrillart, Imhoof-Blumer has pointed out that the earliest coinage of Elis is distinguished from that of all other cities in Greece proper by this type of Nike. Further, he has shown the similarity of design between the early types of Elean and Sicilian Nikes. Several cities in the island became famous for victories in the Panhellenic games towards the end of the sixth century. Imhoof-Blumer is surely quite justified in drawing an inference that Nike was probably revived at Olympia and represented victory, not in war, but in the games.<sup>7</sup>

It is true that the Panhellenic games were regarded, in some sort, as a preparation and training for war; but the significant silence of poets who treat of military matters—e.g. Aeschylus—makes it more than probable that Nike had little or nothing to do with battle until the Persian invasion, at the earliest. Marathon and Salamis may perhaps have widened her sphere of action. On coins, Nike does not appear in a warlike aspect until the middle of the fifth century,<sup>8</sup> and even then, it seems, this connexion is exceptional. In the coinage of continental Greece she does not appear at all as a warrior-goddess until late in the fourth century, on the coins of Macedonian kings.<sup>9</sup> In literature, the first reference to Nike as arbitress of the fortune of war (under Zeus) is in an 'oracle of Bakis' quoted by Herodotus viii. 77

τότ' ἐλεύθερον Ἑλλάδος ἦμαρ  
εὐρύοπα Κρονίδης ἐπάγει καὶ πότνια Νίκη.

The oracles of Bakis were all spurious, and this prophecy on the Persian war was no doubt, like many other prophecies, written during or after the events which it foretells.

It seems, then, that Nike was revived to express the giver of musical and athletic success. Now, if this view is correct, it must follow that Nike was at first not connected with Athena at all, much less an emanation or, to use Miss Harrison's expression, a 'characteristic mode' of that

<sup>6</sup> 'Die Flügelgestalten der Athene und Nike auf Münzen,' Huber's *Numism. Zeitschr.* 1871.

<sup>7</sup> This theory is quoted with approval by Knapp, *Nike in der Vasenmalerei*: Tübingen, 1876.

<sup>8</sup> Victory, on a coin of Himera (about 450 B.C.), holding a plastron bound with a fillet. 'She seems connected with naval war rather than with the games,' Gardner, (*Types of Greek Coins*: Pl. II., No. 21).

<sup>9</sup> Imhoof-Blumer, *op. cit.*

<sup>1</sup> *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. 366.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 1-2, 7, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Theog.* 383 ff.

<sup>4</sup> p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Preller-Robert, pp. 216, 494-496.

goddess. For Athena, though *ex officio* patroness of the Panathenaea, had no particular authority in the Olympian games, or indeed in any other great Panhellenic festival. At Olympia it was Zeus that gave the victory. It was Nike that awarded the prize. Bacchyl. *fr.* 9 Νίκη γλυκύδωρος ἐν πολυχρύσῳ δ' Ὀλύμπῳ Ζηνὶ παρισταμένα κρίνει τέλος ἀθανάτοισι τε καὶ θνατοῖς ἀρετᾶς.

Zeus and Nike had a common altar at Olympia.<sup>1</sup> The Zeus of Pheidias had a claim on the Nike that he bore in his hand; she was not transferred to him from Athena, but belonged to him rightfully. In later times she was called daughter of Zeus. Himer. *Or.* xix. 3, Νίκη χρυσοπτέρυγε, Νίκη Διὸς τοῦ μεγάλου παῖ, εὐπατέρεια καὶ φιλόγελως, τοῖτοισ γὰρ σε τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἀγάλλει ἡ ποίησις. The original of this description is, no doubt, a passage in Menander (*Incert.* 218),

ἡ δ' εὐπάτερεια φιλόγελως τε παρθένος  
Νίκη μεθ' ἡμῶν εὐμενὴς ἔποιτ' ἀεί.<sup>2</sup>

In short, if Nike is to be regarded as an abstraction from any greater deity, she must be an abstraction from Zeus.

The question remains: How did the connexion between Athena and Nike arise? The most obvious answer is that at Athens and a few other places Athena attracted to herself the title and some of the functions of Nike. The minor goddess still survived, and became the servant of Athena, who was herself, as it were, a Victory *par excellence*, Our Lady of Victory. At Athens, it was natural that the tutelary deity should be all-powerful in her own city and on her own acropolis. There she assumed the title of Hygieia, and received an altar and a cultus as Athena Hygieia. No one, presumably, would contend that Hygieia, who belongs to the circle of Asklepios, was originally an attribute of Athena; and there is no reason to suppose that Athena Nike was the outcome of a mythological process different from that which produced Athena Hygieia. The cult of Athena Nike is of course particularly Athenian;<sup>3</sup> but the warlike goddess was worshipped under the same title in Megara<sup>4</sup> and

Erythrae.<sup>5</sup> Whether the cult in these cities arose independently of that in Athens, it is impossible to say.

Nike seems to have lent herself to a similar absorption by other cultus-deities. On the reverse of a well-known coin of Terina (about 480 B.C.), there is a wingless female figure, holding an olive bough, with ΝῆΚΑ retrograde in the field.<sup>6</sup> On the obverse is the head of Terina, with the legend ΤΕΡΙΝΑ. A little later the ordinary winged Nike appears on the coinage. The unwinged goddess has been thought to represent Terina in the guise of Nike, a 'Terina Nike.' Again, we find a running winged female on coins of Catana, with the inscription ΚΑΤΑΝΕ. Mr. Head calls the goddess 'Catana as Nike,'<sup>7</sup> and Prof. Gardner thinks that this view is possibly correct.<sup>8</sup> The presence of wings on the latter figure is perhaps no objection; Catana may easily have borrowed the art-type as well as the name of Nike. In Alexandrine times, as Imhoof-Blumer points out, there are several instances of coins with the type of a winged Athena.

We must now examine some chronological questions in relation to the origin of Nike and Athena Nike. There is no record, in literature or art, of the existence of Nike until quite the end of the sixth century. She is not represented on coins before 500 B.C., nor on vases before the red-figured period,<sup>9</sup> i.e. not till the last decade of the sixth century. Archermos, it is true, flourished in the first half of the century,<sup>10</sup> and he (or Aglaophon) was thought to have been the first to give Nike wings.<sup>11</sup> But the idea that Nike was originally wingless is no doubt an error arising from a confusion with the so-called Nike Apteros, who was really Athena Nike. Whether the winged statue commonly called the 'Nike of Archermos' belongs to the base which bears the name of that sculptor is a matter of doubt;<sup>12</sup> at any rate, although such winged females were commonly called Nikes by later Greeks, it is very improbable that the actual sculptor attached such an idea to his work. Max. Mayer, in Roscher's *Lexicon*,<sup>13</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Dittenberger, *Syll.* 370, 27. (An inscription of the third cent. B.C.)

<sup>6</sup> Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, Pl. I. 23. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 96.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 114.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 108.

<sup>9</sup> Knapp, p. 11. M. Mayer in Roscher's *Lex.* 354.

<sup>10</sup> Mitchell, *History of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 195.

<sup>11</sup> Schol. on Arist. *Av.* 574.

<sup>12</sup> Sauer in *Athen. Mitth.* 1891, pt. 2.

<sup>13</sup> s.v. 'Iris,' 354.

<sup>1</sup> Paus. v. 14, 6.

<sup>2</sup> The Scholiast says λέγει τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν; but Himerius at all events refers to the proper Nike, as is shown by χρυσοπτέρυγε.

<sup>3</sup> So the Schol. on Soph. *Phil.* 134. οὕτως ἡ πολιοῦχος Ἀθηνᾶ Νίκη καλεῖται ἐν Ἀττικῇ.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. i. 42, 3. Kekulé, *Die Balustrade des Tempels der Athena Nike*, p. 9.

calls the figure Iris, who was worshipped by the Delians, a suggestion which I had already made in a paper on the Nike of Archermos, written in 1891.<sup>1</sup> Now, if Nike was a new conception in the latter half of the sixth century, if not later, Athena Nike must be still younger, since, according to the view here maintained, Athena Nike presupposes Nike herself. But it may be objected that the cult of Athena Nike must have been very ancient, as the statue of the goddess on the Acropolis is called a *ξόανον* by Harpocration<sup>2</sup> and Pausanias;<sup>3</sup> the latter of whom, in mentioning a 'wingless Nike' dedicated by the Mantineans at Olympia, states that Kalamis is said to have made it in imitation of the *ξόανον* at Athens. Otto Bendorf,<sup>4</sup> however, remarks that cultus-statues in wood continued to be made as late as the fifth and fourth centuries; for example, there was a *ξόανον* of Hekate by Myron in Aegina, and another of Hermes by Damophon at Megalopolis. He thinks that this cult of Athena Nike, if not actually established after the Persian war (as I believe was the case), was then popularized by Kimon; and that Kalamis was probably the sculptor of the original statue at Athens, of which he subsequently executed a *replica* for the Mantineans. Benndorf believes that the statue was dedicated on the Acropolis after the battle of Eurymedon. The helmet in one hand of Athena shows that the struggle is over; the pomegranate which the goddess bears in her other hand refers to Side, a town near the scene of the great battle, celebrated for the worship of Athena, who is often figured with a pomegranate in her hand on coins of the city. The local goddess would thus be brought over to Athens, just as in later times Konon erected a temple to Aphrodite, the patron deity of the Knidians, after the battle of Knidos. This explanation of the art-type seems very plausible, and more attractive than the suggestion of Miss Harrison that 'the old xoanon with the pomegranate in one hand, the helmet in the other, takes us back to very early days, when Athene was near akin to the goddess

of love and war, Aphrodite.'<sup>5</sup> The statue, or at least its type, must have been prehistoric indeed.

Even if Benndorf's theory as to the origin of the type is rejected, there is no monumental evidence to prove the alleged antiquity of the cult. The type is not known to us from any early vase. A black-figured vase in Altenburg (unpublished) shows a sitting Athena with a pomegranate in her left hand; but she wears her helmet, instead of carrying it. Another vase-painting, also black-figured, represents Athena seated, and holding her helmet in the left hand; but, instead of the pomegranate, she holds in her right a cup, which she offers to a priestess standing before an altar.<sup>6</sup> At most, these vases, taken together, exhibit the *motive* which was afterwards chosen for the representation of Athena Nike; they are certainly no proof that Athena was worshipped under that title in the sixth century. The earliest reference to her in literature is Soph. *Philokl.* 134, *Νίκη τ' Ἀθήνα Πολιάς*. Cf. *Antig.* 148.

To sum up, I believe that while Nike was a late conception, Athena Nike was still later, and that the goddess of Victory cannot have originated, either at Athens or elsewhere, from an aspect of Athena.

E. E. SIKES.

<sup>5</sup> *Myth. and Mon.* p. 366. So Stark, *Philologus*, 1860.

<sup>6</sup> Furtwängler in Roscher's *Lex. s.v.* 'Athene' 639. He advocates a great antiquity for the cult of Athena Nike, but, it seems to me, on insufficient evidence.

## MONTHLY RECORD.

### BRITAIN.

*Silchester.*—During the excavations of 1894 the discovery was made of twenty-one small hearths or furnaces, some circular, some oblong. They are supposed to have been connected with dye-works. Among the small objects found are a small gold ring of coarse filigree work in which is mounted a pear-shaped carbuncle, an engraved red jasper, a bronze hinge of pierced work, and a small bronze bell. A hoard of 250 silver denarii (from Marcus Antonius to Severus) was also discovered, having possibly been concealed during the struggle between Albinus and Severus (A.D. 194–197).<sup>1</sup>

### GERMANY.

*Arzbach-Augst, near Ems.*—In the excavation of the Limes-fort at this place a number of Roman weapons were found, mostly in a tower of the Porta Praetoria. The weapons must have been in use at the time of

<sup>1</sup> This was printed for a special purpose, but not published. I have therefore not hesitated to incorporate some small part of it in the present paper. I was indebted to Prof. Waldstein for the suggestion of the subject, and to Mr. E. Gardner and Dr. Sandys, among others, for much valuable assistance.

<sup>2</sup> Harpocration, *s.v.* *Νίκη Ἀθηνα*.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. v. 26, 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Ueber das Cultusbild der Athene Nike*, Wien, 1879, p. 21.

<sup>1</sup> *Athenaeum*, May 4.

the evacuation of the fort, i.e. about 260 A.D. The most interesting finds consisted of fragments of artillery (*onager* and *ballista*) and a well-preserved, peculiarly-constructed *pilum*.<sup>1</sup>

## ITALY.

*Venice*.—Mariani has been making researches in the Museums, in the course of which he has discovered various objects relating to Crete. Among these are a statue of Britomartis and a scarabæus on which are some thirty-two incised characters similar to those recently published by A. J. Evans from Cretan stones.<sup>2</sup>

## GREECE.

*Delphi*.—Homolle has given before the French School a detailed description of the Treasury of the Siphnians. The work of the East Pediment is peculiar, in that the upper parts of the figures are cut away from the background, the lower treated as reliefs. This is probably to obviate the effect of the shadow in which the upper part of the tympanum lies. The style is hard and flat, like that of the ancient Spartan reliefs, and these sculptures are the most archaic of all those on the Treasury. The frieze shows more than one hand, the work of the East and North sides being more advanced than the rest. The explanation of the frieze is of course materially aided by the painted inscriptions, which stand sometimes beside the figures on the background, sometimes on the lower margin. Some of the names are lost, others are illegible, as the colouring of the whole composition began to fade soon after the stones were uncovered. They would have been more important than they are, were it not that inscriptions of exactly the same character are found on the frieze of the Treasury of the Sikyonians and on the metopes of that of the Athenians. They thus afford no indication of school, and were apparently added by the Delphians themselves as a commentary to the sculptures.<sup>3</sup>

*Delos*.—The plan of the harbour of Delos has been laid before the French Academy by Homolle. It is formed by the channel which separates Delos from the two islands of Great and Little Rheumatari, is about 1200 metres long, and protected on the north by a line of reefs converted in ancient times into a solid breakwater. It was divided into two parts, sacred and profane. At present the commercial quarter has only been partly uncovered.<sup>4</sup>

*Samos*.—A large number of vases has been found in the excavation of an archaic necropolis.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Berl. Phil. Woch.* May 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Athenaeum*, May 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Berl. Phil. Woch.* April 27.

<sup>4</sup> *C. R. de l'Acad. des Inscri.* Jan.-Feb. 1895.

## PALESTINE.

*Cæsarea*.—An inscription has been found on a column among the ruins, mentioning among other things a Hadrianæum, presumably one of the temples or perhaps Thermae built by Hadrian. The inscription appears to be at the earliest of the sixth century A.D.<sup>4</sup>

## EGYPT.

*Araça, S. W. of Farshût*.—'Mycenaean' vases have been found, but no record has been kept of the objects found with them.<sup>5</sup>

*Abydos*.—Some bronze *situlae* and a large silver coin of Athens (archaic?) have been found in a tomb.<sup>5</sup>

*Ekhmin*.—From this place has come a strip of wood, with a number of names on one side, and on the other: *ἐρται χεῖρ ἀγαθὴ καλὰ γράμματα καὶ στίχων ὁρθόν*.<sup>5</sup>

*Beni-Mohammed*.—Among the graffiti in the tomb of Zau, Sayce has found one reading *ΛΥΚΟΣ*

*ΙΑΙΑΣ ΠΟΥΜΑΙΟΥ*, which is to be connected with the First Praetorian Cohort of Lusitanians known from an inscription to have been once stationed in the neighbourhood.<sup>5</sup>

*Gebel-el-Tâkh*. Sayce has interpreted the rude elegiac verses formerly discovered by him, and finds in them a reference to Mettius Rufus, who was praefect of Egypt in the reign of Domitian.<sup>5</sup>

## TUNISIA.

*Kourba (Curubis)*.—An interesting inscription has been found recording the fortification of Curubis by the Pompeian legates P. Attius P. f. Varus and C. Considius C. f. Longus. It preserves certain archaisms of spelling, as the doubling of the vowel to denote length (*VAARVS, POSTEICVVS*) and the form *COER averunt*.<sup>4</sup>

*Chaouat*.—An inscription (previously published in the *Bull. arch.* 1891, p. 197, no. 14) has been read by Gauckler. It contains a dedication to the *col-(onia) Iul(ia) Th(ur)varia*, the site of which is thus fixed at Chaouat. A second inscription, dating from the period of the Gordians, mentions a temple erected in honour of Gordian III., in which were three acrolithic (?) statues of the Victories of the Emperor: *cum statuis Victiarum tribus achoritis Aug(usti) N(ostri)*.<sup>4</sup>

*Djerba*.—The identification of *Meninx* with the ruins of *Henchir El-Kantara* on this island has been confirmed by the discovery of a fragmentary inscription which mentions the (*cives*) *Meningitani*. The inscription is a dedication to an official who had been propaetor of Pannonia Superior. It must therefore date between A.D. 103 and 297.<sup>4</sup>

G. F. HILL.

<sup>5</sup> *Academy*, May 4.

## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

**Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik.** Vol. 150. Part 3. 1895.

*Zu Diodoros drittem und erstem buche*, E. A. Wagner. Considers how far in these books D. is indebted to Agatharcides of Cnidos and Artemidorus. *Zu Demosthenes*, K. J. Liebhold. On Ol. ii. § 14 and some passages in the Philippics. *Verschollene*

*länder des allertums*, C. Krauth. Continued from 1893. (2) on the eastern boundaries of Scythia, acc. to Herodotus (iv. 20), and (3) on the order of the peoples on the east of Scythia, acc. to Herodotus (iv. 21 foll.). *Zu Thukydides*, E. Dittrich. Reads in i. 11, *ἐπειδὴ τε ἀφικόμενοι μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν* (δηλον δὲ τὸ γὰρ ἔρμα τῷ στρατοπέδῳ εὐθὺς [for οὐκ] ἂν



δείχ(σαν)το. Zur geschichte der griechischen heilkunde (Herodotus iii. 131), V. Pingel. The sentence ἐγένετο γὰρ ὅν... ἑλλήνων πρῶτοι is by some considered spurious, but it can be kept if we read Ἀργεῖοι for Κροτωνίηται. *Skylla ein krake am vorgebirge Skyllaion*, H. Stending. Explains Hom. μ 73 foll., 234 foll., acc. to the view that σκάλλα is a myth of the octopus vulgaris which is frequently met with in the Mediterranean and on the coasts of Greece. *Über einen besondern gebrauch des ablativus absolutus bei Caesar*, J. Lange. On sentences of the type of B.G. iv. 21, 6 quibus auditis liberaliter pollicitus hortatusque, ut in ea sententia permanerent, eos domum remittit, of which Caesar has many examples. This construction is common in Homer, e.g. δ 392, 646. *Die zeit des ersten sklavenkrieges*. A. Wilms. Puts the outbreak at Minturnae B.C. 144/143, outbreak under Ennius 141/140, defeat of Hypsaenus 139, and the end of the war by Rupilius 132. *Das wesen der Horazischen satire nachgewiesen an Sat. ii. 8*, J. Sanneg. Maintains that the satires of Horace are caricatures and most of all this one. Hor. like Goethe sought in poetry a relief for his own sufferings. *Zu den Gronovschen Cicero-scholien*, Th. Stangl. A correction of schol. comment. on *Ferr.* ii. 1, 45 in a previous diss. by the writer.

**Rheinisches Museum.** Vol. 50. Part 2. 1895.

*Die vaticanische Ariadne und die dritte Elegie des Propertius*, Th. Birt. Concluded from last no. [*Cl. Rev.* sup. p. 189]. An Ariadne, like that in the Vatican, became possible at the end of the 4th cent. B.C., but we cannot say more. The superiority of Prop. over Ov. Am. i. 10 in the representation. *Die Epigramme des Damasus*, M. Ihm. Tests are given for deciding the genuineness of some of these Epigrams. *Zu den Assyriaka des Ktesias*, P. Krumbholz. A criticism of Marquardt's essay, in the 6th supplement vol. of *Philologus*, on the prae-Persian period of Ktesias' history. *De Christophori commentario in Hermogenis librum περί στίξεω*, H. Rabe. The unknown quotations from authors given by Christophorus are here published. *Zur Geschichte der älteren griechischen Lyrik*, J. Beloch. (1) Theognis of Megara. He belonged to Hyblaean Megara in Sicily, not to the Nisaeon Megara. (2) Alcaeus and the war for Sigeum. This war is to be identified with that of Peisistratos against Mytilene. *Ueber die Weihinschrift der Nike des Paionios*, F. Koepf. Maintains that there is nothing strange in the omission in this inscription of the name of those conquered by the Messenians and Naupactians, and that this omission need not be ascribed to fear. *Antikritische Streifzüge*, O. Ribbeck. A defence of the writer's views upon Accius and Pacuvius expressed in his History of Roman Poetry, as against Robert's criticism in his celebrated book 'Bild und Lied.' *Römische Dichter auf Inschriften*, C. Hosius. In these Vergil is most quoted, then at a great interval Ovid, then Lucan. Horace and Martial are more seldom found and others only very rarely.

**MISCELLANEOUS.** *Zu den Monatseyklen der byzantinischen Kunst in spätgriechischer Litteratur*, C. F. Müller. A number of verses by an unknown author in cod. Paris. 2991 A are here published with var. lectt. from other codd. *Zum codex Palatinus des Lycias*, K. Fuhr. Various corrections and suggestions. *Eine Reise des Aelius Aristides in die Mithras*, W. Schmid. This is written to justify, in the Life of the Rhetorician in the forthcoming half vol. of the new Pauly, an omission of a certain journey on the ground that it was an imaginary journey only. *Das Alter der Vorstellung vom panischen Schrecken*, W. Schmid. Shows, in opposition to v. Wilamowitz,

that this notion was familiar to Herodotus and Thucydides. *Die Eroberung Jerusalems durch Herodes*, V. Gardthausen. In opposition to Kromayer, puts the siege between 3rd May (or 3rd June) B.C. 37 and 3rd October. *Ad Porcii Licini de Terentio versus*, O.R. An attempt to restore these lines. *Zu lateinischen Dichtern*, M. Manitius. A continuation, (4) on the florilegium of Micon. Shows the source of the quotations. *Der Vorname des Rhetors Seneca*, E. Wölfflin. As Quintilian refers to the philosopher only as Seneca, it is probable that his father had the same praenomen, viz. Lucius, and not Marcus for which there is no authority.

**Transactions of the American Philological Association.** 1894. Vol. xxv.

The chief articles that concern classical philology are as follows: (I.) Those published in full. *Notes on the Prepositions in Gellius*, by C. Knapp. The excessive use of prepositions in Gellius is due not only to decay in the language but much more to G.'s archaism and the influence of the sermo plebeius. Various instances are examined. *On Urbs Aeterna and Urbs Sacra*, F. G. Moore. The former expression as applied to Rome became official in the time of Hadrian. The city was *sacra* as being the abode of the deified emperors. *Some poetical constructions in Thucydides*, C. F. Smith. Examples are given under the following heads: (1) prepositional constructions, (2) two dative constructions, viz. after verbs of motion, and the dat. of the agent, (3) adjectives and participles, viz. neut. plur. as predicate and as cognate accus., and the articular neut. adj. or partep. as an abstract noun, (4) substantives used adjectively. *Literary frauds among the Romans*, A. Gudeman. A most interesting paper, a companion to that on literary frauds among the Greeks recently published in 'Classical Studies in honour of Henry Drisler' [see *Cl. Rev.* viii. 424]. Compared with the apocryphal literature of the Greeks, the Roman *ψευδεπιγραφα* sink into insignificance, both in point of number and of quality. The earliest example pertains to the reputed books of Numa Pompilius. Then Livy quotes from a speech of the elder Scipio while Cic. tells us that S. left no writings behind him. The correspondence between Cicero and Brutus has been suspected of spuriousness, but now most scholars allow it to be genuine. The *Disticha Catonis* were compiled about the fourth century. The most remarkable forgeries in Latin literature are the description of the Trojan War by two alleged eye-witnesses, Dictys Cretensis and Dares Phrygius. Dictys is probably the earlier, and dates from the reign of Nero. *Anonymity* is responsible for the great majority of *ψευδεπιγραφα* in Latin literature. This may be illustrated by the Pseudo-Vergiliana, as the Culex, Ciris, Dirae, Copa, Catalepta, Aetna. (II.) Those articles of which summaries only are given. *The Song of the Arval Brothers*, by E. W. Fay. An attempt to elucidate this, followed by an excursus on the *Manes* worship, in which it is maintained that the Greeks worshipped their ancestors as the Romans did the *Manes* and the Hindus the *Pitres*. *The Athenian Polemarch*, G. V. Thompson. His power began to decline as early as the end of the seventh century, but we do not know exactly when he lost his actual military command. *On the inscriptional Hymn to Apollo recently discovered at Delphi*, F. Dittlen. Date after 279 B.C. but cannot be fixed. The key is Phrygian. The melody exemplifies one of the more complex developments of ancient art. *Cena, δείπνον, prandium, ἑσπριον*, W. S. Scarborough. *δείπνον* like *cena* varied as to time from noon to midnight,

ἄριστον like *prandium* from early morn to mid-day. *Notes on Thucydides* i. 8, 1; 9, 3; 28, 3, H. N. Fowler. *A discussion of Horace*, Carm. iii. 30, 10—14, C. Knapp. Explains 'The Apulians will sing of me as one who rose from low estate to high renown, and as the first (Roman) who made Aeolic song at home among Aeolic measures.' *Critical notes on Sophocles*, J. H. Wright. *The Opisthodomus on the Acropolis at Athens*, J. W. White. It is maintained that this was a separate building. *On a literary judgment of Fronto*, M. Warren. An explanation of the sentence: *In poetis autem quis ignorat ut gracilis sit Lucilius, Albucius aridus, sublimis Lucretius, medicus Pacuvius, inaequalis Accius, Ennius multiformis?* Naber's ed. p. 113 f. *On Velleius Paterculus*, E. G. Sihler. The desire of V. to write for the sake of fine writing and to improve upon the diction of the Ciceronian era seems palpable enough. *The date of the poet Lycophron*, W. N. Bates. Born B.C. 325—320, wrote his *Alexandra* about 295, flourished about 280 as a tragic poet, and died before 250. *The Saturnians of Livius Andronicus and Naevius according to the quantitative theory*, K. P. Harrington. They cannot be shown to bear any quantitative test. Perhaps they were only 'rhythmical prose.' *Jacio compounds in the present system with prefix ending in a consonant*, M. W. Mather. These compounds in all Roman poets before the death of Augustus have the prefix syllable long, except in four exx., three in Plautus and one in Naevius. *A note on the Gnomie Aorist*, H. C. Elmer. It is maintained, in opposition to the common view as expressed by Prof. Goodwin, that the true function of the gnomie aorist is to express an act in the present with the idea of progress left out. *A critical note on Eur. Ion* 1—3, M. L. Earle. Dr. Earle rewrites the passage thus: Ἄτλας, ὁ χαλκίοισι νότοις ὀφρανοῦ | φέρων παλαιὸν ὕμνον, ἐκ τριῶν θεῶν | μίᾱς ἔφυσσε Μαίαν, κ.τ.λ.

#### Athenische Mittheilungen. 1894. Part iv.

1. Noack: discusses the ancient engineering works for the draining of Lake Copais; from a comparison with the aqueducts of Eupalinos of Samos and Peisistratos for the Enneakrounos at Athens, he concludes that the remains of the Minyae of Orchomenos, and identifies the unfinished work of the Chalcidian Krates; traces the connection between the independence of Orchomenos and the preservation of these works: the first blow to the Orchomenian power was struck by a flood in very early times, of which there is corroborative evidence. He then traces the fortresses which are still preserved in the upper part of the lake. Arnæ stood upon an island in the lake, and shows remains of elaborate fortifications and buildings which compare with Tiryns and Mycenae. 'It belongs to the epoch when Tiryns still existed and Mycenae flourished, and when the Minyan Orchomenos stood at the west end of the lake on the slopes of Akontion.' Examination of the remains in this district show that the Mycenaean rulers understood how to keep their communication open with the sea and the outlets of the catavothra; and that the series of fortifications built for this purpose all converge on the north-east part of Lake Copais, and in this on the ruins of Gla; this

site is clearly identifiable as that of Arnæ: discussion of the legendary foundation by Athamas, &c., the cults of the Minyae, and their connection with pre-Homeric Mycenae. In a *Zusatz* he disputes the identification of Janitsa with the Homeric Pherae; the technique of the masonry proves the walls to be of a later date. The article is illustrated with 23 plates and 18 cuts. 2. Wolters: Mycenaean tombs in Kephallenia, with plan. 3. Castriotes: describes a series of terracotta statuettes which he identifies as Athena; and suggests that the well-known series of marble archaic statues also represents Athene under different aspects. 4. Dörpfeld: gives a first account (i.) of the excavations on the west slope of the Acropolis, up to October 1894; the most important results were—the discovery of the street which led from the agora to the Acropolis, and several other roads; a small shrine, over which a lesche was subsequently erected; several private houses; the temenos of a god of healing; the assembly house of the Iobakchae; and under it the ruins of an old shrine of Dionysos; and lastly, important remains of the famous Enneakrounos. These results decided the Greek Government to sanction a larger plan, which was commenced by the German Institute (with the aid of private subscribers) in October, 1894: a full description will be given of the important discoveries which have been made (among others of the Dionysion ἐν Ἀλφειῷ), and which must modify considerably the accepted idea of ancient Athens. 5. Loeschke: publishes a Corinthian amphoriskos (pl. 8) with the return of Hephaistos. Discusses the phallophori who appear here in the train of Dionysos: he holds that these human-formed daemons (later superseded by the Ionic type of Seilenos) belong to the oldest strata of Greek folk belief; the right name for these Corinthian dancers is σάτυροι, and they give us an idea of the old Peloponnesian satyric chorus. He suggests that it would be better if archaeologists were to agree to call the horse-daemons σιληνοί, the goat-daemons τίτυροι, and reserve the name σάτυροι for the primitive human-formed 'Kobolde' found on this vase. 6. Wilhelm: replies to Fränkel (*ante*, p. 395). 7. Kern: two inscriptions from Samothrace. Summary of discoveries and news: by W. D.

#### Revue Archéologique. November—December, 1894.

1. Miss Sellers: obituary notice of Sir Charles Newton. 2. S. Reinach: publishes (ppl. 17—18) a marble head, from Cyzicus: by comparison with a statue in Constantinople and others, he identifies it as an Artemis. 3. Heuzey: announces the discovery by M. Sarzec at Tello of a deposit of cuneiform tablets estimated at more than 30,000. 4. S. Reinach: discusses twelve well-known gems with signatures of artists, chiefly in reference to Furtwängler's articles and the inventory of Fulvio Orsini. 5. Paulowsky: the iconography of the Palatine chapel, 'le type parfait du système décoratif de la plus grande partie des églises byzantines et byzantino-russes.' 7. Monod: obituary notice of M. James Darmesteter.

Meetings of the Académie des Inscriptions. Notes and news. Cagnat's review of epigraphical publications.

## LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

## ENGLISH BOOKS.

- Cicero*. De Amicitia. A translation by J. F. Stout and W. F. Masom. Cr. 8vo. Sewed. 1s.  
 Ditto. A Vocabulary and Test Papers. Cr. 8vo. Sewed. 1s. 6d.  
 Ditto. Notes, edited by A. H. Allcroft and W. F. Masom. Cr. 8vo. Sewed. Clive. 1s. 6d.  
 — In Catilinam. Oratio III. Edited by A. Waugh Young and W. M. Masom. Post 8vo. Clive. 3s.  
 — Pro Milone. Edited with Introduction and Commentary, by Albert C. Clark. 8vo. Clarendon Press. 8s. 6d.  
 — Speeches against Catiline and Antony, and for Murena and Milo, translated (from the text of Kayser) by Herbert E. D. Blakiston. Cr. 8vo. Methuen & Co. 5s.  
*Demosthenes*. Pro Phormione and Contra Cononem. From the Cambridge text of Sandys and Paley, literally translated by J. A. Prout. 12mo. 28 pp. Cornish. 1s. 6d.  
*Euripides*. Andromache. Edited by Henry Clarke. Post 8vo. 130 pp. Clive. 4s. 6d.  
*Gardiner* (G. B.) and *Gardiner* (A.). A Latin translation Primer. vi, 113 pp. 12mo. Arnold. 1s. net.  
*Gilbert* (G.). The Constitutional Antiquities of Sparta and Athens. Translated by E. J. Brooks and T. Nicklin. With Introductory Note by J. E. Sandys. 8vo. 512 pp. Sonnenschein. 10s. 6d.  
*Horace*. Odes. Books I. and II. done into English Verse, with Andromeda, Ariadne, and Jason, by J. Howard Deazeley. 4to. Clarendon Press. 7s. 6d. net.  
 — Odes and Epodes. Edited with Introduction and Notes, by Clement Lawrence Smith (Harvard University). Cr. 8vo. Ginn & Co.  
*Hodgkin* (T.). Italy and her Invaders, 553—600. Vol. V. Book VI. The Lombard Invasion, with maps and illustrations. 8vo. Clarendon Press.  
 — Do. Vol. VI. Book VII. The Lombard Kingdom, with maps and illustrations. 8vo.  
*James* (Montague R.). A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. Royal 8vo. Cambridge Press. 5s.  
*Julian*, Philosopher and Emperor, and the last Struggle of Paganism against Christianity, by Alic Gardner. 8vo. Putnam's Sons. 5s.  
*Kennedy* (Rev. H. A. A.). Sources of New Testament Greek, or the Influence of the Septuagint on the Vocabulary of the New Testament. 8vo. T. & T. Clark.  
*Nall* (G. H.) and *Grenfell* (A. G.). A Card of Common Regular and Irregular Greek Verbs, with Paradigms and Notes for Reference and Repetition in Junior Forms and Preparatory Schools. 8vo. 36 pp. Longman. 1s.  
*Ovid*. Tristia. Book I. Edited with Explanatory Notes and Vocabulary, by E. S. Shuckburgh. xxii, 112 pp. Macmillan. 1s. 6d.  
*Philo*. About the Contemplative Life, or the fourth book of the treatise concerning Virtues, critically edited with a Defence of its Genuineness, by Fred. C. Conybeare, M.A. 8vo. Clarendon Press. 14s.  
*Starkey* (C. E. F.). Verse Translations from Classic Authors. xi, 143. Cr. 8vo. Longman. 5s.  
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